

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Thousands march for civil rights

Protests demand:
overturn 'Bakke' ruling!

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Militant/David Nudel



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UFW OFFICE BOMBED: A building housing the United Farm Workers New York headquarters was fire-bombed October 9. The bombing was the latest in a series of unexplained attacks on the UFW-owned building.

During the week before the bombing, rocks and golf balls were thrown through its windows, and mysterious fires were set there. Water and smoke damage has rendered the building useless.

Union president César Chávez called on Mayor Abraham Beame to protect the union's New York offices.

D.C. GAY RIGHTS MEETING: Some 225 supporters of gay rights attended a "Speakout for Human Rights" in Washington, D.C., September 23. A major demand of the meeting was enforcement of a D.C. law that prohibits discrimination in employment, housing, public accommodations, and education.

The meeting also called for an end to discrimination against lesbian mothers and gay fathers.

Speakers included Washington Teachers Union President William Simons; D.C. Statehood Party leader Josephine Butler; Charlotte Bunch, of the National Gay Task Force; and Leon Rottner, who is chairperson of the Speakout Committee of Dialogue for Human Rights.

The meeting was sponsored by Dialogue for Human Rights, a newly formed gay rights group and endorsed by a large number of women's, Black, gay, civil liberties, and political groups.

RSB CONVENTION BANNED AT KENT STATE: The administration at Kent State University has denied the Revolutionary Student Brigade the right to hold its national convention on campus. The RSB is a registered campus group.

Campus President Brage Golding defends his undemocratic ruling by charging that he isn't convinced the convention will be legal and peaceful.

Break-in at D.C. socialist offices

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Offices of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were burglarized here October 8.

Investigating officer P. L. Green commented, "This is an unusual burglary in that nothing was taken. They seem to have been mainly interested in your files."

Later, however, it was discovered that a petty cash envelope had been stolen. But the burglars passed up typewriters, a small calculator, and other office equipment.

SWP offices in other cities have been victimized by similar break-ins, which have often turned out to be the work of the FBI, local police red squads, and other government agencies.

Afrodita Constantinidis, SWP candidate for D.C. School Board, noted that the burglars entered the offices in broad daylight, sometime between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m.

"Anyone with knowledge of the SWP would have known that all our supporters and activists would be at the *Bakke* protests at that time to demonstrate against the attacks on affirmative action," she pointed out.

RAZA SI, MIGRA NO: More than 100 demonstrators, mostly Chicanos, picketed Leonel Castillo, commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, at the Arizona Mexican-American Political Conference in Tucson, September 24.

The picketers denounced President Carter's phony "amnesty" plan for undocumented workers. Conference officials tried for two days to get the picket line called off, claiming it would be "divisive."

Castillo got even, though, on October 8 in San Diego. He operated a Border Patrol helicopter searchlight during a late-night search for Mexicans crossing the border illegally. Castillo helped "catch" nineteen.

RIGHTS ATTORNEY SPEAKS IN NEW MEXICO: Margaret Winter, an attorney for the Socialist Workers Party's \$40 million suit against illegal government harassment, spoke before several audiences in New Mexico last month.

Winter's talks in Albuquerque and Santa Fe outlined the government's use of informers and provocateurs to spy on and disrupt movements for social change. Several Chicano activists related experiences with government harassment.

CRYSTAL CITY GAS STILL OFF: Residents of Crystal City, Texas, have been without gas since September 23

when the LoVaca Gathering Company shut off service. The city's Raza Unida Party administration had refused to pay a 600 percent rate hike. City officials announced October 7 that they had contracted for a month's supply of propane.

Meanwhile, many of the city's impoverished residents are cooking on outdoor fires. Mayor Benavides said the propane would be purchased with part of a \$310,000 grant from the federal Community Service Administration.

Mayor Benavides also said the city is considering drilling a well for gas. Earlier, Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez had urged the city administration to declare a state of emergency. If it did, Gutiérrez declared, he would follow suit with a county declaration of emergency and take over two wells owned by LoVaca's parent company.

UAW WON'T REJOIN AFL-CIO: The international executive board of the United Auto Workers rejected a proposal October 5 to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO, which it left in 1968.

The board voted down President Douglas Fraser's plan to hold a special convention for a formal vote on rejoining the AFL-CIO.

Fraser, who favors reaffiliation, explained that the board believed a majority at such a special convention would oppose his view, despite the fact that most of the international executive board supports it.

HAITIAN REFUGEES WANT ASYLUM: About 150 Haitian refugees and supporters marched through downtown Miami October 1, seeking asylum for the refugees from the island country's brutal Duvalier dictatorship.

Marchers chanted, "Asylum yes, deportations no" and, "Hey, hey, USA, stop supporting Duvalier."

After a brief rally, sixty of the demonstrators marched to "Freedom Tower," a seventeen-story building that once housed special agencies set up to aid the half million Cuban exiles who came to Miami between 1961 and 1974.

The U.S. government has refused to grant asylum to Haitian refugees, and many have already been sent back to Haiti. Those who remain cannot legally find work. An immigration official said the 2,700 refugees couldn't get legal status because they would take jobs from Americans.

—Arnold Weissberg

Special offer to new readers.

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The fight to reverse the *Bakke* decision is a critical fight to preserve the gains won by the civil rights movement and the women's movement in the past fifteen years. Keep up with the struggle by reading the *Militant* every week.

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UN speech a cover for arms escalation

Carter OKs new 'first strike' MX missile

By Fred Murphy
From Intercontinental Press

President Carter addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 4. His words were widely applauded in the U.S. news media, and were apparently well-received in Moscow as well.

Carter made several dramatic pronouncements to shore up his image as a man of peace:

"In Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, we and the Soviets are within sight of a significant agreement in limiting the total numbers of weapons and in restricting certain categories of weapons of special concern to us. . . .

"The United States is willing to go as far as possible, consistent with our security interests, in limiting and reducing our nuclear weapons. On a reciprocal basis we are willing now to reduce them by 10 percent or 20 percent, even 50 percent. . . .

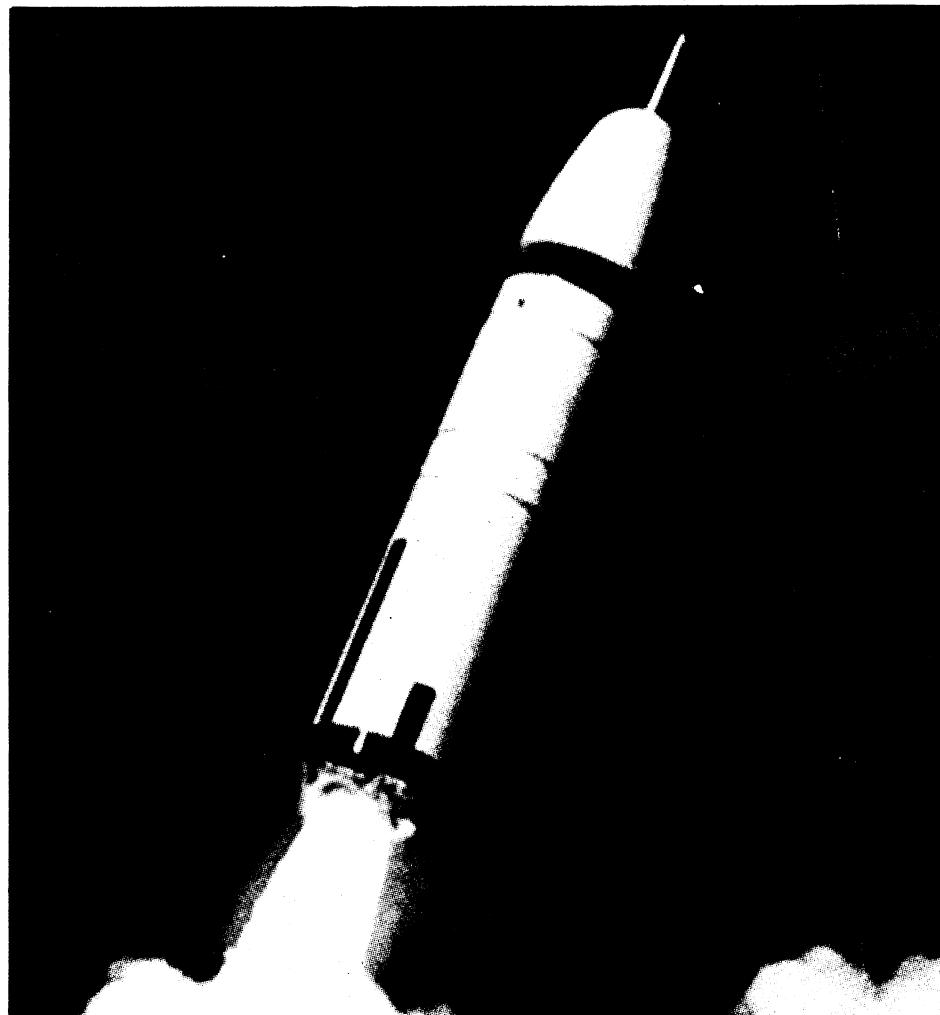
"I hereby declare . . . that we will not use nuclear weapons except in self-defense; that is, in circumstances of an actual nuclear or conventional attack on the United States, our territories or armed forces, or such an attack on our allies."

The chief Soviet delegate to the UN, Oleg Troyanovsky, "said it was gratifying that the problem of ending the arms race and preventing nuclear war was 'in the forefront of the President's speech'" (*New York Times*, October 5).

The reality, which Carter's rhetoric was designed to cover up, emerged just two days later, however. Bernard Weinraub reported in the October 6 *New York Times*:

"Secretary of Defense Harold Brown has approved full-scale development funds for a new mobile missile system that could lead to the largest and most costly missile program ever undertaken by the United States. . . .

"Although the project is still in its planning stages, the new mobile missile will probably occupy a trench 10 to 12 miles long and five feet underground. It will be movable, thereby avoiding Soviet targeting, more accurate and far more powerful than any strategic weapon now employed by the United States."



Pentagon questions efficiency of missiles such as Trident (above). New MX missile will be 'more accurate and far more powerful than any strategic weapon now employed by the United States.'

Carter's pledge not to use nuclear weapons "except in self-defense" rings especially hollow against the analysis of this new system (known as the "MX") offered by *New York Times* military specialist Drew Middleton. Middleton wrote October 6 that "the deployment of 300 M-X missiles some time in the next decade could represent a shift away from deterrence toward capability to fight—and win—a nuclear war."

Middleton explained that the Air Force claims the MX is needed to counter advances in Soviet technology that make Minuteman III missiles—currently deployed by the Pentagon—

vulnerable to attack, even if their silos are "hardened" to withstand blast, heat, or radiation.

"But the Air Force also concedes that hardening the silos makes them capable of providing survival well into the 1980's and possibly longer." So the real motivation is more likely the following: "Deployment of the M-X would increase the capability of the American strategic missile force to hit more targets in the Soviet Union."

Thus "MX would amount to a first-strike weapon," the editors of the *New York Times* said October 10. "A force of 300 MX's could destroy the entire

Soviet land-based force in half an hour."

Carter's proclaimed willingness to reduce the number of nuclear weapons "on a reciprocal basis" by up to 50 percent is likewise deceptive. The Pentagon currently has 11,000 deliverable warheads, as against 3,800 deployed by the Soviet Union. Any "reciprocal" reduction would still give Washington a commanding lead.

Similarly, there is little to be expected from a new agreement on a strategic arms treaty, which Carter said is "within sight."

A flurry of excitement ran through the U.S. press after the latest round of talks September 22-27 between Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. In an October 6 column in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Victor Zorza said: "The ice did not really begin to move until Andrei Gromyko . . . persuade[d] the U.S. administration that Moscow was now willing to accept the basic negotiating context proposed earlier by President Carter—something it had vehemently rejected earlier in the year."

After the May 18-20 round of arms talks in Geneva, Gromyko had declared: "From all I can gather, the United States has not given up its attempts to achieve unilateral advantages, nor has the United States given up its attempt to conclude an agreement that would undermine the security of the Soviet Union."

Obviously, Washington still holds to its bellicose perspective. But the class-collaborationist bureaucrats in the Kremlin appear to have concluded that for the sake of the détente they should accede to Carter's wishes. Things are now moving toward a new treaty not unlike the Interim Agreement on Strategic Arms Limitation, or SALT I, concluded in 1972.

The effect that accord had on the arms race was evident in a recent statement by the Pentagon's top military commander, Gen. George S. Brown:

"We have made tremendous technical progress since SALT I in our missile force."

All-white jury in Torres case

Cops who killed Houston Chicano fined \$1

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—One dollar. That's what an all-white Huntsville, Texas, jury fined two Houston cops for the murder of Joe Campos Torres.

Last May Torres, a twenty-three-year-old Chicano and an army veteran, was beaten by six Houston cops and then thrown into the Buffalo Bayou to drown.

Outrage in the Black and Chicano communities here is running high over the October 7 verdict.

Many Chicano members of Local 1742 of the United Steelworkers of America—on strike against the Hughes Tool Company—shouted "murderers" at cops standing near their picket line.

State Rep. Ben Reyes, reflecting this widespread anger, termed the Huntsville jury's decision "a farce."

Ray Ramirez, the state executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the oldest Chicano organization in the Southwest, called the sentence "a mockery of justice."

Several protest meetings attended by hundreds of people—many angrily wearing one-dollar bills pinned to their

shirts as badges of protest—have been held here.

People say the idea that it is now only "negligent homicide," a misdemeanor, to kill a Chicano—will encourage Houston's racist cops to step up their brutal treatment of nonwhites.

This fear was confirmed only one day after the Huntsville verdict. On October 8, police beat and arrested Joe Luna and Margaret Torres, the parents of Joe Campos Torres!

The Torreses, who have been active in demanding justice after their son was murdered, tried to intervene to stop a Houston policeman from killing a young Chicano in cold blood. The cop had been holding a gun to the youth's head.

The Torreses told the cop who they were, urging him not to repeat what had been done to their son.

The police jailed them overnight, along with their nine- and ten-year-old daughters. They were released October 9 on \$1,900 bail and charged with resisting arrest.

The Huntsville jury returned its verdict against Terry Denson and Stephen Orlando, two of the six killer cops, after a four-week trial in a state

district court. The two cops were also placed on probation for a year.

The other four cops involved were simply fired and granted immunity after they agreed to testify against Denson and Orlando. Houston police officials only moved against any of the six after an outpouring of protest last spring.

The murder of Torres was the latest in a string of brutal police attacks in Texas.

In one of these, Richard Morales, a twenty-six-year-old Chicano, was murdered in cold blood by Castroville, Texas, Police Chief Frank Hayes in September 1975.

Although Hayes was indicted for murder, a San Angelo, Texas, jury found him guilty of a lesser charge. The killer cop was sentenced to two to ten years.

Outrage over this injustice finally forced the federal government to enter the case. In September a federal jury found Hayes guilty of depriving Morales of his constitutional rights while "acting under color of law." He is scheduled to be sentenced later this month.

Some Chicano leaders are now de-

manding federal intervention to bring Torres's murderers to justice.

Houston cops cited the publicity generated by these protests as reason for their demand that the trial be moved to Huntsville.

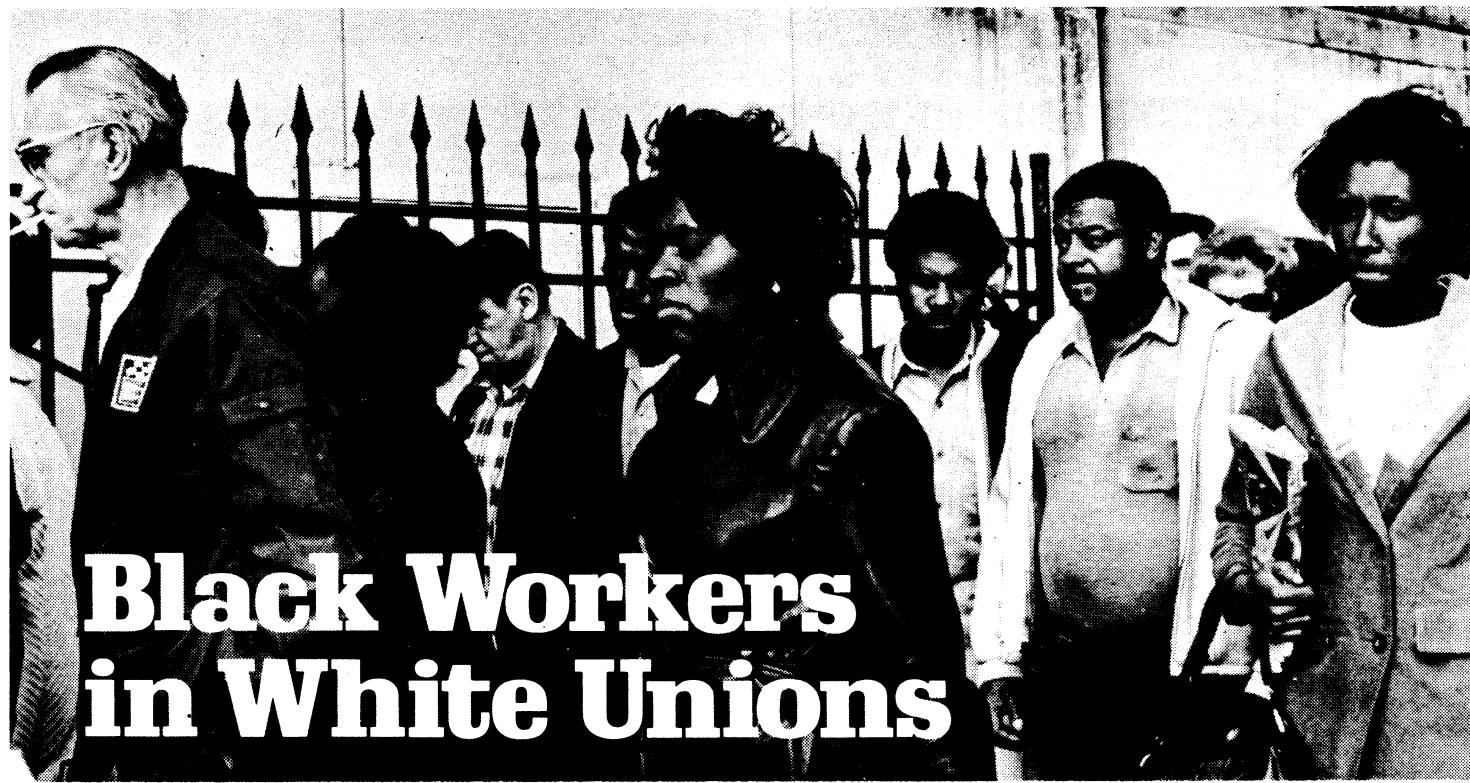
Huntsville also has many fewer Blacks and Chicanos than Houston. This helped produce the all-white jury that handed down the outrageous one-dollar fines.

Testimony from the four other cops involved in the murder and from other witnesses was very revealing:

- There is a police "code of silence," witnesses said, that no matter what acts of misconduct are committed, a policeman doesn't rat on his fellow officers.

- Police regularly beat their prisoners in out-of-the-way "holes" to "teach them respect."

- The government's campaign against "illegal aliens" helps inspire Houston's cops with the idea that all Chicanos are potentially fair targets for official murder. While the cops were beating Torres, for example, one of them told a "joke" about an "illegal alien" who had been shot while swimming into the United States.



Black Workers in White Unions

Black Workers in White Unions: Job Discrimination in the United States by William B. Gould. Published by Cornell University Press, New York, 1977. 505 pages. \$20.

By Omari Musa

The *Bakke* case before the U.S. Supreme Court is a direct challenge to the struggle of Black workers for equality in the labor force. Allan Bakke's contention that affirmative-action programs are "reverse discrimination" threatens all the employment gains won by Blacks over past decades.

The centrality of the affirmative action issue for the labor movement is brought home in William Gould's book *Black Workers in White Unions*, an indictment of the conspiracy by employers, the government, and trade union officials to lock Blacks out of better-paying jobs, skilled trades, and entire industries in some cases. This book is must reading for trade-union activists—Black and white—and for others engaged in the struggle to preserve affirmative-action gains.

Gould explains six areas where Black workers and the union officialdom come into conflict: restrictions on admission to apprenticeship programs, denial of journeyman cards to qualified Blacks, denial of union membership, establishment of segregated and auxiliary locals, seniority lists that hold Blacks in dead-end jobs, and the absence of Blacks from union leadership.

Gould seeks to assess the successes and failures of affirmative-action programs under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which outlaws race and sex discrimination.

The book takes up every significant lawsuit against unions for discrimination. It has over sixty pages of notes and cases where unions and bosses were brought to court by Black workers and/or government agencies.

One mark of the seriousness of the book is that the author separates equal opportunity in "theory" from discrimination in practice.

In 1941, when Blacks threatened to march on Washington, they forced President Roosevelt to issue executive order 8802. This executive order supposedly outlawed racial discrimination by employers with government contracts.

To this day the government has refused to force contractors and construction unions to abide fully with this order.

Construction unions

The last third of the book takes aim at craft and industrial unions for helping to perpetuate racial discrimination in employment and resisting efforts to eliminate it under provisions of Title VII.

Gould first places the construction

unions under his microscope.

The history of these unions has been to exclude Black workers wherever possible from their ranks. Many of the craft unions even maintained "separate but equal" Black locals.

In the summer of 1969 the civil rights movement hit the construction industry. Blacks took to the streets demanding jobs.

Demonstrations occurred in many major cities including Seattle, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, and New York City. Thousands of Blacks and their supporters demanded that the government force the construction unions to open up for Black workers.

In Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and Seattle, Black and white workers fought pitched battles at construction sites.

Out of the protests came the federally imposed Philadelphia Plan and voluntary "hometown" plans to increase Black employment in construction by establishing affirmative-action goals and time tables.

But these highly touted plans did not

'This book is must reading for trade-union activists and others struggling to preserve affirmative-action gains.'

substantially increase the number of Black construction workers. Resistance by the unions and the government undermined them at every step. When the 1974-75 depression hit, it wiped out the small gains registered during the previous five years.

Industrial unions

Gould devotes a large section of his book to the racist record of officials in industrial unions.

He pays particular attention to the United Auto Workers, Steelworkers, and Teamsters.

What distinguishes these unions from construction unions is the relatively large number of Black members. Gould points out that this factor has made Black demands in industrial unions quite different.

"Black demands have two areas of emphasis," he writes. "The first relates to type of employment and promotion. For even in unions like the UAW, which has a good reputation in matters of race, . . . the skilled trades have been traditionally a lily-white bastion. . . .

"The second area of protest has involved the question of leadership."

Gould here points to the demand by Black workers to have more staff appointments, and local and international officers.

Before 1968, the record of the UAW

in opening skilled trades to Blacks was not much different from the construction unions.

But two factors led to a significant change in the situation after 1968: the ghetto rebellions and the rise of Black worker caucuses, specifically the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) and other "RUMs."

The Big Three auto companies and the UAW leadership were forced to develop apprentice and preapprentice programs that brought a relatively large number of Blacks into the skilled trades.

Steelworkers union

"Probably no industrial union has faced more Title VII trouble than the United Steelworkers of America," Gould writes. "Thousands of complaints have been filed against the union and employers with whom they bargain in basic steel. . . .

"These complaints relate primarily to problems of upgrading rather than hiring."

The problem faced by Black steelworkers stemmed from a discriminatory seniority system that kept them in the dirtiest, lowest paying jobs.

The leadership of the USWA fought, and continues to fight, any meaningful change in that system. However, under the impact of lawsuits and the restiveness of Black workers, the steel trusts and union agreed to modify seniority practices. This was done through a consent decree, a legally binding agreement between nine steel companies, the USWA, and the federal government.

As Gould explains, the consent decree required Black, Chicano, and women steelworkers "to waive their right to sue under employment-discrimination legislation, and simultaneously accept implementation [of antidiscrimination remedies] from which minority workers who were not union members were excluded."

The recent Supreme Court decision supporting seniority systems that perpetuate discrimination is a serious blow to even this modest victory.

Black Workers in White Unions makes a valuable contribution to understanding the role of the unions in maintaining racial discrimination in employment.

Gould illustrates clearly that it didn't "just happen that way." It was a conspiracy by the bosses and labor union officialdom to keep Blacks at the bottom of the totem pole.

This book records how the independent struggle of Black workers, backed up by the civil rights movement, has been the motor force behind affirmative-action gains. That same kind of struggle, along with a transformation of the unions themselves, will be needed to beat back current attacks like the *Bakke* decision and to press forward to achieve genuine equality on the job.

D.C. AFT president defends affirmative action

At the convention of the American Federation of Teachers the *Bakke* decision—the question of affirmative action and quotas—was the main topic of debate.

AFT President Albert Shanker was able to ram through a resolution opposing the use of quotas to enforce affirmative action.

But a fourth of the delegates opposed Shanker and voted for a resolution calling for the overturn of the *Bakke* decision and for the use of quotas to protect the rights of women and minorities.

The fight against *Bakke* was led by the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education.

William Simons, president of AFT Local 6 in Washington, D.C., is the East Coast caucus coordinator.



WILLIAM SIMONS Militant/Lynn Henderson

On September 27 Simons held a news conference to make clear that the entire membership of the AFT wasn't lined up behind Shanker's racist position on the *Bakke* case.

"The basic question is whether or not affirmative action programs which are designed to insure that blacks, minorities, and women have an equal opportunity to enter into the mainstream of American society are constitutional," Simons's statement said.

Simons expanded his views in an article in the *Washington, D.C. Teacher*, the Local 6 newspaper.

"The resolution adopted by the convention is full of idealistic rhetoric and long range solutions but offers little which provides immediate relief," Simons wrote.

"All of the affirmative terminology contained in many programs," such as "aggressive recruiting," special tutoring, and expansion of facilities, "is meaningless, unless there is some definitive action . . . which will produce measurable results. . . .

"One immediate way of insuring this is to establish short-term goals or quotas. It must be repeated that while quotas were being used as a ceiling for certain segments in our society, blacks, no matter their qualifications, were completely excluded. . . .

"Affirmative action programs with goals or quotas must continue until such time as every individual is given consideration based on his or her merits."

Simons also urged teachers and others to participate in the October 8 protest against the *Bakke* decision. Local 6 endorsed the action and established a committee to encourage teacher participation.

'Defend affirmative action!'

Thousands at anti-'Bakke' rallies

Washington

By Omari Musa

WASHINGTON—Chanting, "We say no to racism," and "We won't go back, send Bakke back!" more than 1,000 people marched on the U.S. Supreme Court and Capitol here October 8 demanding the overturn of the *Bakke* decision.

More than 2,500 rallied in Oakland, 1,000 in Los Angeles, and 1,000 in Seattle (see below).

Overwhelmingly Black, Latino, and Asian, the demonstrators were protesting the California Supreme Court decision that would eliminate special-admissions programs for minority students in professional schools.

The U.S. Supreme Court is scheduled to hear the case October 12. Its decision will have a major impact on affirmative-action programs for women and minorities in education and on the job.

The protest actions were part of the October 3-8 week of activities initiated by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) and the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA).

More than 150 organizations and individuals endorsed the action call.

A steady rain here did not dampen demonstrators' spirits. Grantland Johnson, NCOBD national coordinating committee member, captured this spirit when he told the rally, "The demonstrations today are the beginning of the resurgence of the mass movement against racism.

"Despite the pressure of the Carter administration and the media black-out, we are going to overturn *Bakke*."

The NCOBD coordinator in D.C., Belinda Lightfoot, chaired the rally. She told demonstrators that NCOBD is projecting a week of educational activities January 22-26. "We urge you to join NCOBD and help make these activities a success," Lightfoot said.

Jimmy Garrett, also a leader of the D.C. committee, spoke of the need for a national march on Washington to force the Supreme Court to overturn *Bakke*.

Washington Teachers Union President William Simons, who is the East Coast coordinator of the American Federation of Teachers Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education, also spoke.

He read a statement from the D.C. Central Labor Council demanding that the Supreme Court overturn the *Bakke* decision.

Terry Herndon, executive director of the National Education Association, the largest teacher organization in the U.S., also addressed the crowd.

Black student ratio drops

Exposing the myth of "reverse discrimination" in education, two new studies show that the percentage of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Indian, and Asian-American students admitted to medical school has dropped in the last two years.

The reports were released by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges.

The number of Black and other minority medical students dropped from 10 percent in 1974 to 9 percent this fall. The decrease occurred "despite numerous special admissions programs," the reports say.

The percentage of students of oppressed nationalities in undergraduate schools also dropped—from 8.4 percent in 1972 to 7.3 percent this fall.



Militant/David Nudel

Washington, D.C., October 8. Rally speakers stressed building united movement to continue struggle for equal rights

A lively contingent of Asian and Pacific Americans participated in the demonstration.

Shirley Hune, representing the Asian/Pacific Americans Federal Employees Council, told the rally that "the so-called quiet, docile Asian is a myth. We are victims of racism and discrimination.

"The *Bakke* case represents a long, hard fight for all of us, but we will not be pushed back."

Sharon Parker, speaking for the Minority Task Force of the National Organization for Women, said, "We pledge to help spread this movement among women, especially minority women."

Throughout the rally, speakers stressed the need to organize a strong, united movement in defense of affirmative action.

"This government tries to divide us in every way possible," said José Medina of the Immigration Project at Georgetown University.

"They try to make some of us into scapegoats. They try to make us think we cause the problem.

"Repressive immigration laws and the *Bakke* decision are both racist attacks on working people," Medina said. "The struggle against deportations of undocumented workers is part of the fight for full equality for the oppressed."

Other speakers included Rev. Bob Pruitt; People's Alliance leader Arthur

Kinoy; Antonio Rodríguez, CASA; D.C. City Council member Hilda Mason; and Prof. Alvin Thornton, Baltimore coordinator of the Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

The action was endorsed by some eighty organizations, including the Seattle and Renton chapters of the National Organization for Women.

The Washington Education Association supported the march, as did the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, whose membership is predominantly Filipino, and the United Construction Workers Association, a group of Black and Chicano construction workers fighting for affirmative action in the construction industry.

A high percentage of the marchers were Black, Chicano, Asian, or Native American.

A large contingent of Chicano high school students marched behind a banner declaring, "We are the future."

On October 5, a debate over affirmative action at the University of Washington drew 200 people.

Especially significant was the large number of unions that endorsed the protest, including Bay Area locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; International Longshoremen's union; American Federation of Teachers; Retail Clerks; Communication Workers of America; and the state council of the California Federation of Teachers.

Lee Brightman of United Native Americans told the crowd that "there have always been special-admissions programs—but they've been for the rich only."

Aileen Hernández of the San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women and a former president of the National Organization for Women declared, "If we don't get it together by ourselves, it won't be done for us. We have to move out today, after this demonstration, and make the *Bakke* fight our fight every day."

Also speaking were University of California Professor Harry Edwards; María Abadesco of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Gilberto Mendoza of Comejas; U.S. Rep. Ed Roybal; and others.

against the *Bakke* ruling in an action called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

The action was endorsed by some eighty organizations, including the Seattle and Renton chapters of the National Organization for Women.

The Washington Education Association supported the march, as did the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, whose membership is predominantly Filipino, and the United Construction Workers Association, a group of Black and Chicano construction workers fighting for affirmative action in the construction industry.

A high percentage of the marchers were Black, Chicano, Asian, or Native American.

A large contingent of Chicano high school students marched behind a banner declaring, "We are the future."

On October 5, a debate over affirmative action at the University of Washington drew 200 people.

Los Angeles

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—A thousand people rallied against the *Bakke* decision here October 8.

Contingents from several MEChA (a Chicano student organization) chapters, from the UCLA Black Students Association, the National Organization for Women, and the Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense Committee participated.

Speakers included Vincent Reyes of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision and the Union of Democratic Filipinos; Linda Ferguson of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Jorge García, a professor of Chicano Studies at Cal State Northridge; Philip Vera Cruz, a former president of the United Farm Workers; and Hank DiSuvero of the National Lawyers Guild.

About 250 people, mostly Black or Puerto Rican, joined a rally against the *Bakke* decision in a rally in New York City. The Harlem protest heard William Jones of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, Pearl Clark of the Student Coalition Against Racism, Dennis Serrette of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Moses Harris of Black Economic Survival, and others.

Continued on page 26

Seattle

By Louise Armstrong

SEATTLE—A thousand people marched and rallied here October 8

Higher prices, fewer jobs

Japanese steel imports cut: no victory for

By Andy Rose

American steel corporations are crowing over the Treasury Department's October 3 ruling against imports of carbon steel plate from Japan.

Industry executives say the government action confirms their claims that they are the victims of "unfair" foreign competition. They call the ruling "an encouraging step" toward much stricter import curbs.

There was just one thing missing from the steel industry's victory hoopla. *Nowhere did the corporations pledge to reopen the plants they have closed or rehire the thousands of steelworkers fired in recent weeks.*

Not now, and not in the future. Not even if the corporations win the sweeping import restrictions they are demanding.

And that ought to be a signal that the anti-Japanese decision is no victory for American steelworkers.

On the contrary, the anti-import drive is a threat to the jobs, wages, and union rights of every worker in this country.

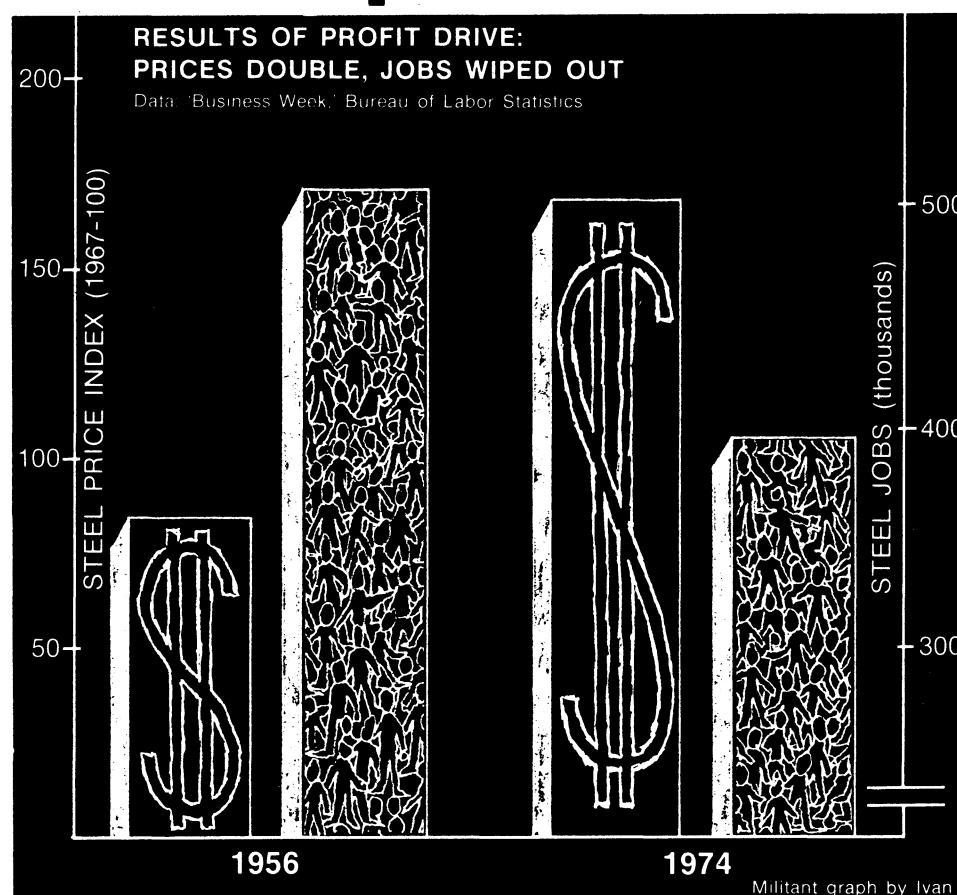
First, import restrictions mean higher prices, which erode the buying power of workers' paychecks.

Second, import restrictions carry the danger of a global trade war, which would rapidly lead to a new depression and throw millions out of work. Meanwhile, the anti-import campaign conceals the real reasons for the ongoing destruction of jobs in steel.

Higher prices

Third, union cooperation in the anti-import drive leads to sacrificing workers' interests in the name of making "our" industry more competitive.

What is the immediate effect of the Treasury ruling?



The ruling said that five Japanese steel companies were "dumping" carbon steel plate, that is, selling it for less than it cost them to produce. This finding is preliminary, pending further investigation and hearings.

If the decision stands, the Japanese companies will be forced on all future sales in the United States to pay a tariff—a tax to the U.S. government—equal to 32 percent of the factory price of their shipments. Starting now, the Japanese must post bonds equal to the penalty tariff.

The added tariff thus raises the price of Japanese steel by 32 percent—from \$216 a ton to \$285 a ton.

If you are buying a car, you shop around to find the best deal. It doesn't matter to you why one seller offers a lower price than another. In fact, if you find a dealer who is selling below cost in order to raise cash, you consider yourself lucky. The seller's loss is your gain.

But suppose the government suddenly steps in and says, "That car is too cheap. You have to pay 32 percent

more for it." Most consumers would get pretty mad.

Not many workers go shopping for carbon steel plate—it's used in heavy construction, ship building, offshore oil rigs, and machinery. But the industries that use it will pass the price hike along. In the end working people will pay.

Based on last year's steel consumption, this one anti-import ruling will cost us \$56 million in higher prices. And it could well be even more. Because in practice the tariff will cut imports of this type of steel down to a trickle. And freed from the pressure of competition, U.S. producers are sure to raise prices even higher.

Trade-war danger

Union officials who support the anti-import campaign argue that it is worth paying higher prices to save jobs of American steelworkers. Far from protecting jobs, however, moves to restrict imports actually jeopardize jobs.

Such restrictions by one country invite retaliation. What will happen to "American jobs" if other countries throw up similar barriers against goods produced here?

The logic of protectionism is toward outright trade war. That's exactly what happened in the 1930s, deepening and prolonging the Great Depression.

Today the economies of all the capitalist nations are tied together more intimately than ever before. One of every six jobs in the United States is directly based on exports.

Even short of trade war, rising protectionism threatens to stunt already feeble world economic growth. A report issued last month by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (the international body that administers

What voice for steelworkers in Washington?

The steel crisis has prompted a flurry of activity in Washington. President Carter appointed a top-level "interagency task force on steel." Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill set up a "Congressional Steel Caucus." Hearings, meetings, and studies are under way.

But all that the Democrats and Republicans are discussing is how to solve the problems of the *corporations*. No one in Congress or the Carter administration is speaking for the interests of the *workers*.

The "Congressional Steel Caucus" is lined up solidly behind the corporations' demands: restrict imports, roll back pollution controls, hand over tax money to the steel companies.

The Carter administration says that high wages for steelworkers are the source of the problem. It is "considering" import quotas. And on October 9 the White House leaked word that its answer to growing unemployment is a \$7 billion tax cut for big business—"to spur investment."

Not one of the Democratic or Republican politicians challenges the profits or prerogatives of the steel monopoly, or supports a struggle by steelworkers against corporate profiteering.

Not one of these "friends of labor" has spoken up for the striking steelworkers on the Mesabi Iron Range.

Not one has questioned the exorbitant prices, hidden profits, or tax loopholes of the steel corporations.

Not one has defended the right of workers to safety on the job and to a clean environment.

Not one has even called for the

rehiring of laid-off steelworkers.

The Democratic and Republican politicians serve the interests of big business only. They pretend that if they help the corporations the workers will benefit. But, as the story above shows, this is a fraud.

Yet, steelworkers are correct in demanding that the federal government take action to protect their jobs. A crisis of this magnitude cannot be resolved through routine union activity or through the established channels of collective bargaining.

Political action is required. But the workers' interests can be advanced only through working-class political action, independent of the parties of the employers. Workers need their own party, a labor party based on the unions.

A party controlled by workers, putting forward working men and women for public office and fighting year-round for the interests of the working class, would pursue an opposite course from that now followed by the Democrats and Republicans.

The most elementary need of workers victimized by the steel crisis is adequate relief. Through a labor party, workers could fight for unemployment benefits at full union wages for the full duration of unemployment.

Instead of accepting the steel companies' lies about their costs and profits, a labor party would fight to open the books and records of the corporations so workers could see for themselves the real causes of the crisis.

A labor party would rally opposition to import restrictions and to tax



Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) addresses rally organized by union officialdom. 'Congressional Steel Caucus' aims to help industry, not workers.

giveaways to business.

If the corporations refuse to keep plants open, a labor party would campaign to nationalize them and place them under the control of the workers.

The McBride leadership in the United Steelworkers puts its faith in the antilabor Democrats and Republicans—just as it accepts the steel corporations' program for "solving" the industry crisis.

But steelworkers looking for a way

to fight back—in the devastated mill towns, on the iron range, and across the country—are concluding that a new policy is needed, that the ranks must assert democratic control over their union to make it serve their interests.

A giant step forward will be made in that fight when steelworkers develop class-conscious leaders who understand the political needs of the struggle and chart a course of independent labor political action.

workers

trade rules) concludes that growing protectionist barriers—notably in steel—contributed to the “extraordinary severity of the last recession.”

To think that import curbs can “save American jobs” is not merely shortsighted—it is suicidal.

Real enemy

The real threat to American steelworkers’ jobs does not come from Japanese steelworkers. It comes from the relentless drive by American steel corporations to reap higher profits by producing more steel with fewer workers.

Look at the record. Between 1956 and 1974 (the last year of high steel production), U.S. steel companies increased shipments 33 percent, from 83 million tons to 110 million tons.

In the same period, the companies eliminated more than 100,000 jobs! The total hourly paid work force was cut from 509,000 to 393,000.

Today, the corporations plan to improve their competitive position against Japanese and European steel producers through an even more drastic productivity drive.

That means speeding up production at the expense of safety.

It means closing down mills the companies deem “unprofitable,” such as those in Johnstown, Pennsylvania; Lackawanna, New York; and Youngstown, Ohio.

It means throwing thousands more steelworkers out of their jobs and onto the unemployment lines.

A feature article in the September 25 *New York Times* pointed to the industry’s strategy. “Many observers,” the *Times* said, “look upon the closing of the aging facilities as a painful step that had to be taken eventually, the logical sequel to the plant modernization efforts that started in the 1960’s.”

‘More Youngtowns’

The *Times* quoted Richard Cyert, an economist linked to the steel industry, as saying: “It will be a smaller industry, but it will also be more competitive and more efficient.”

Cyert also commented: “There are going to be a few more Youngtowns before it’s over.”

Of course, the companies welcome import restrictions that protect them from foreign competition while they implement their job-cutting plans. But such restrictions will do nothing to benefit the steelworkers whose jobs are on the line.

In recent years the “fight against imports” has been used by top officials of the United Steelworkers to justify union-crippling concessions to the companies.

In 1971 the union launched a joint campaign with steel management for higher productivity. *Steel Labor*, the union paper, claimed this would “meet the challenge posed by principal foreign competitors.”

In 1973 union officials signed the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, giving up the right to strike over national issues. I.W. Abel, then president of the union, pledged that the ENA would stem imports and provide job security.

Right now 18,000 steelworkers are on strike in the iron ore mines and processing plants of northern Minnesota and Michigan. The steel companies are determined to starve them into submission.

Yet the international union leadership has scarcely lifted a finger to aid the strikers—it’s too busy lobbying for “relief” for the bosses.

Steelworkers can protect their jobs, wages, and working conditions. But they will do it in struggle against the corporations—not by collaborating in their anti-import, anti-working-class campaign.

Iron ore strikers under attack: leaders appeal for labor solidarity

By Andy Rose

The need for labor solidarity with striking steelworkers in the iron mining industry is more urgent than ever in light of company intransigence and stepped-up attacks on the strike.

“It looks like this thing will go ‘til spring,” one union leader told the *Minneapolis Star* after a special October 5 negotiating session.

Eighteen thousand iron ore workers in northern Minnesota and Michigan have been on strike since August 1 over hundreds of local issues, including safety practices, dust and noise levels, ventilation, and various working conditions.

The October 5 meeting brought together representatives from all the companies and union locals involved, supposedly to discuss the union demand for an incentive-pay plan. Iron ore workers earn some eighty cents an hour less than workers in the steel mills, who receive incentive bonuses on top of their straight-time pay.

Instead of a discussion, however, the union negotiators were treated to a lecture from U.S. Steel Vice-president William Miller. He said that under no circumstances would the companies agree to incentive pay.

Miller also complained about steel imports and said that the companies couldn’t afford to meet the strikers’ demands.

“When Miller got done talking about how the mighty steel corporations were losing money, we felt so sorry for him we thought maybe we should pass the



Militant/Andy Rose

School bus serves as picket headquarters for Local 4757 in Babbitt, Minnesota.

hat,” a union negotiator said sarcastically.

Joe Samargia, president of United Steelworkers Local 1938, the largest local on the Mesabi Iron Range, reacts angrily to the companies’ anti-import line.

“They’re blackmailing everybody!” Samargia told the *Militant* in a telephone interview. “They’re blackmailing the guys down in the steel mills to help them get steel import quotas set, and in turn they’re using iron ore imports to break our strike. It’s sad that some people are swallowing this.”

Samargia thinks the company ultimatum was intended as “the second punch,” coming just two days after an arbitrator ruled that the companies

can cut off medical insurance payments for the strikers as of October 20.

To pay insurance premiums averaging \$100 a month would be a heavy burden for the strikers, who are receiving only \$30 a week in strike benefits from the international union.

Meanwhile, U.S. Steel President David Roderick announced in Pittsburgh that by importing ore and drawing on a 24-million-ton stockpile, the company “could go on for an almost indefinite period” despite the strike.

In another line of attack, the companies are pursuing a multi-million-dollar damage suit against the union. Company lawyers taking depositions from union officials have demanded to

Continued on page 26

Why the Mesabi Iron Range is a gold mine for steel companies

By Gene Anderson

It seems paradoxical.

The steel industry is crying that it’s broke. The companies are closing plants and firing workers.

But on the iron range of northern Minnesota and Michigan—which supplies the steel mills with iron ore, their basic raw material—prices and profits are booming.

The price of iron ore pellets has nearly doubled in three years—from \$19.50 a ton in 1974 to \$36 today.

And the ore producing companies are investing more than \$2.5 billion in new mines and processing plants and in modernizing their fleets of Great Lakes ore carriers.

How can ore production be so profitable while steel is in crisis?

The answer not only explains who the iron ore strikers are up against. It also highlights the monopoly control, hidden profits, and tax manipulations of the “troubled” steel industry.

The August 15 issue of *Business Week* magazine notes with unconcealed admiration that “ore producers can demand a good price with little regard for supply and demand.”

The reason, *Business Week* says, is “because their steel-company customers now have a vested interest in keeping the prices up. Steelmakers have steadily increased their investments in mining by developing their own mines and by teaming up with the independent ore producers in giant new ventures.

“As a result,” the financial magazine reports, “steel companies now produce as much as 70% of the iron ore they consume, according to some industry estimates.”

But that still doesn’t explain why the steel companies want to charge themselves high prices for iron ore.

The answer lies in tax loopholes. The

corporations can take advantage of a depletion allowance on ore-mining profits. This allowance is based on the price of ore as it leaves the mine—the higher the price, the greater the tax write-off.

Business Week explains: “The depletion allowance last year helped U.S. Steel to reduce its tax rate to about 21%, less than half the normal 48% corporate rate.”

This one tax loophole added \$88 million to U.S. Steel’s profits last year. Bethlehem picked up an extra \$33 million the same way.

Largely because of the ore depletion allowance, *Armco Steel and Republic Steel paid no federal income tax at all last year!*

These are the companies that are now demanding even lower tax rates as part of the price for keeping the mills open.

But what about the “independent” mining companies? Since there is a general oversupply of iron ore, why don’t they cut prices to grab a bigger share of the market? Isn’t that how capitalist competition is supposed to work?

Business Week quotes an unnamed “industry expert” as saying, “But that never happens. If you look closely at the so-called independent mining concerns, you’ll soon see that, financially, they’re part of the steel industry. The hundreds of millions of dollars put up for mining operations are mortgaged with steel company assets and the mines end up being captive.”

In fact, says *Business Week*, the independents “are increasingly becoming minority owners of the mines that they operate.”

Control by the steel monopoly has paid off for the mining companies. In the past five years, profits have tripled at Hanna Mining, doubled at Cleveland-Cliffs, and quadrupled at

Pickands Mather and Oglebay Norton.

Two conclusions stand out. First, the iron range strikers are up against some of the most powerful corporations in the capitalist world.

Second, the steel industry uses its monopoly control to shift profits from the steel mills to the ore mines in order to save millions on taxes.

How many other tax dodges are hidden in the records of the steel corporations?

How many of the “higher costs” the companies complain about are they secretly profiting from through control of their own suppliers?

What’s the truth about the “unprofitable” steel plants the companies threaten to close?

The only way to find out is through a fight to open all the financial books and records of the steel monopoly.

A threat to jobs

There is another side to the story of the iron ore industry. It illustrates the destructive, antilabor nature of the current campaign against steel imports.

To fully utilize their expanded mines and plants, the mining companies have stepped up exports of iron ore to steel mills in other countries. Such exports have grown by 65 percent in the past five years.

But if the campaign against steel imports succeeds . . . these foreign steel plants are forced to cut back production . . . and cancel their orders for U.S. iron ore . . . what happens to the jobs of American iron ore workers?

—G.A.

McCutcheon fights for Black rights

1 out of 10 pick socialist in Boston school vote

By Maceo Dixon

BOSTON—One out of every ten people who voted in the first round of city elections here September 27 pulled the lever for Hattie McCutcheon.

McCutcheon is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston School Committee. She polled 6,043 votes—2,700 short of winning a spot in the November 8 runoff. In the five Black wards here she polled between 21 and 44 percent of the vote.

McCutcheon's running mate, city council candidate Diane Jacobs, received 3,902 votes—about 6 percent of the vote.

McCutcheon, a well-known Black activist, was interviewed by CBS-TV news election night. "It was a big victory for the Socialist Workers Party," she told viewers.

"Thousands of Bostonians voted for me as a socialist who campaigned for busing and school desegregation, Black representation in city government, jobs for Black youth, abortion rights for women, the need to overturn the *Bakke* decision, and other issues that are of great concern to Black and other working people."

Noting that "only 25 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls," McCutcheon charged that the majority "have been turned off, disillusioned, and frustrated with capitalist politics and politicians."

The respect McCutcheon and Jacobs won by championing the demands of the Black community during their campaign was shown by the number of prominent persons who came by the



HATTIE McCUTCHEON

get elected."

Boston's Democratic-controlled government has long denied political representation to the Black community altogether by electing all local officials on a city-wide basis, freezing out the city's Black and Puerto Rican minorities.

McCutcheon says that "none of the Black Democrats in the runoff can genuinely represent the needs of the Black community."

"To do this," she says, "they would have to break with the Democratic Party that has kept this city de facto segregated for decades."

McCutcheon says this is why she will continue to campaign, even though she was not one of the Black candidates to qualify for the runoff.

"I want to give the broadest possible exposure to the SWP's proposal that Black people form a party of their own, independent of the twin big-business parties," she says.

The Communist Party also ran a candidate for city council. Polly Halfkenny won 4,363 votes (7 percent). The CP supports Democrat O'Bryant in the runoff election but did not back McCutcheon's socialist campaign.

The U.S. Labor Party, a right-wing protofascist organization, also ran a candidate for city council. George Geller received 1,788 votes (3 percent).

Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR), the city's chief antibusing organization, ran Richard Laws for school committee. Laws did make the runoff, but only came in ninth with 9,164 votes.

socialists' Roxbury headquarters to watch the returns election night.

Among the guests were: Bob Young of the Boston chapter of the National Black Assembly; Phil Martin, news director, WILD radio; Dave Gilten, WILD radio; *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Luix Overbea; Yvonne Davis, Lena Park Community Center; Wayne Robinson, executive secretary, Boston NAACP; and Tony Santio, director, Robert Gould Shaw House community center.

Three Black Democrats were among

the top ten vote getters who qualified for the runoff election. They are school committee candidate John O'Bryant and city council contenders Arnie Waters and Bruce Bolling.

Boston's Black community radio station WILD, along with the Organization for Voter Education and Registration and Massachusetts Black state legislator Doris Bunte, had urged a "bullet" vote for only the Black candidates—including McCutcheon—in the election. "Bullet" advocates said this was "the only means left for Blacks to

Alyson Kennedy for mayor

Cleveland SWP campaign is front-page news

On October 4 Cleveland voters defeated efforts by Republican Mayor Ralph Perk to win a fourth two-year term. Perk was edged out by Democrats Dennis Kucinich and Edward Feighan in the so-called nonpartisan primary. There will be a runoff election November 8.

Cleveland voters also cast the most ballots ever for a mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party: Alyson Kennedy, who polled 1,235 votes (roughly 1 percent).

Kennedy told the 'Militant' that an SWP mayoral campaign had "never gotten so much media coverage before." She is convinced this helped bring the socialists' strong position in support of school desegregation to the attention of voters in the Black community, where a ward-by-ward analysis shows the SWP made its strongest impact.

The following excerpts from a front-page article by Robert Holden in the September 25 (Sunday) 'Cleveland Plain Dealer' is a good example of the favorable media coverage.

Alyson Kennedy strode back and forth outside Gate No. 1 of the Republic Steel Corp. . . . It was still dark at 6:30 a.m., and the scene—clouds of pinkish smoke amid an awesome network of overhead pipes and passageways, with persistent hissing and foul odors—reminded her, she said, of something out of science fiction, or "1984. . . ."

"Hi, I'm Alyson Kennedy, running for mayor on the Socialist Workers party ticket. Read my literature and

see what you think." Nearly all the 30 or so workers who passed her accepted a leaflet and a handshake, but few wanted to talk.

* * *

As she was driven back to party headquarters at 2300 Payne Ave., Ms. Kennedy professed optimism. "In general, people seemed receptive. One guy was standing by the time clock reading our platform for a long time. He picked it up and took it with him. . . ."

Thanks to publicity generated by the FBI break-ins and espionage directed at the party, and by its 1976 presidential candidate, Peter Camejo, the party enjoys a new level of recognition reflected, it believes, in greater popular support.

* * *

When she asks for votes, Ms. Kennedy identifies herself as a socialist, then speaks for:

- A public works program that would put the unemployed, especially black youths, to work at union wages.

- Desegregation of the schools by any means, including busing.

- Action to protect the rights of blacks and women. She backs the Equal Rights Amendment for women and the use of government funds to pay for abortions for poor women.

Fearing a deliberate government plan to reverse the civil rights progress of the 1960s and to cut back on social services, Ms. Kennedy asserts that the Democratic party no longer deserves the allegiance of organized labor, which ought to form its own political party. "Unions don't allow bosses to be members, but at election time the unions totally support their bosses' political leaders."

PLAIN DEALER

CLEVELAND, SEPTEMBER 25, 1977



Alyson Kennedy campaigns on Socialist Workers party platform in front of downtown department store

Political disillusionment led candidate to switch

By Robert H. Holden

Alyson Kennedy strode back and forth outside Gate No. 1 of the Republic Steel Corp. at 3175 Independence Rd. It was still dark at 6:30 a.m., and the scene—clouds of pinkish smoke amid an awesome network of overhead pipes and passageways, with persistent hissing and foul odors—reminded her, she said, of something out of science fiction, or "1984."

Ms. Kennedy who once thought it was honor to be a member of the party, now sees it as a threat to her health and safety.



Time changes Perk

Spotlights, Sec. 7, Page 1

from an adjoining building to buy a copy of the *Militant*, the party newspaper. He promptly turned it over to one of the guards, who carried it into a nearby office.

years ago by a band of dissident Communists who sided with Leon Trotsky in the Russian revolutionary's split with Joseph Stalin, general secretary of the Soviet Union's Communist party.

Thanks to publicity generated by FBI break-ins and espionage directed at the party, and by its 1976 presidential candidate, Peter Camejo, the party enjoys a new level of recognition reflected, it believes, in greater popular support.

In Cleveland, dues-paying mem-

Garza urges public works to rebuild cities

South Bronx speaks out on Carter visit

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—"Carter comes from a different world," said Ikien Washington, a twenty-six-year-old Black man, commenting on the president's headline-catching tour of the South Bronx last week.

"Here a child grows up knowing nothing but dirty streets and the smell of garbage," Washington said. "What does Carter know about that?"

Washington was talking with Cataño Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, during the socialist's visit to the South Bronx October 10. Garza and SWP campaign supporters took a walking tour to talk with residents of the area, which Carter had visited five days earlier.

Carter made the surprise trip to one of the country's most impoverished communities because, he said, "the people . . . still have to know we care." The media coverage—while noting that people shouted "Give us money!" and "We want jobs!" along the route of the presidential motorcade—tried to create the impression that South Bronx residents were, by and large,

happy to see Carter and confident that his appearance there would benefit their community.

Garza went to find out first-hand what the community—virtually 100 percent Black and Puerto Rican—thought about the presidential visit and to present the socialist alternative to the plummeting quality of life in U.S. cities.

"Did you see President Carter last week?" Garza asked a group of Puerto Rican men outside a grocery store on Boston Road.

"No," came one reply, "he went through here like a bat out of hell—and this is hell!"

The South Bronx is filled with block upon block—sometimes as far as the eye can see—of burned-out and abandoned buildings.

"Why do you think Carter came here at all?" Garza asked.

"For publicity," one man suggested.

Another thought perhaps Carter really wanted to find out about the South Bronx's problems. "But listen, man, what can he learn in an hour? You'd have to be here for two or three months just to begin to know what's happening."

On Washington Avenue, where Carter had gotten out of his limousine to shake a few hands, Garza asked Nathaniel Scott, a seventeen-year-old Black, what he thought Carter would do for the South Bronx.

"I don't think he'll do anything," Scott said. "He'll help the rich plenty. But he's not interested in poor people, and that's all there is around here."

Scott, who is unemployed, says he's heard many politicians promise jobs, but "you wouldn't believe how many jobs I got turned down for just this week—jobs I've been trained for. And my cousin got a college diploma to be a teacher, and she can't even get a job."

Some of the people Garza spoke with had apparently been impressed by the presidential visit. One Black woman, waiting for the bus near Crotona Park, said, "It took years for this place to run into the ground. He's only been in for a few months. I think we should give him a chance."

More typical, though, was the opinion of a man who told Garza, "Carter don't know, and he don't care. None of them do."

Despite such justifiable antipolitical sentiments, Garza met a friendly

response to his socialist campaign. He talked with South Bronx residents about his program and handed out SWP campaign brochures.

Garza calls for a massive, federally funded public works program to provide jobs at union-scale wages for the unemployed and to build the badly needed housing, hospitals, schools, and other necessities in devastated areas such as South Bronx. He is opposed to the cutbacks of social services and massive layoffs that have been forced on New York working people by Democratic Party politicians in order to meet millions of dollars in interest payments to wealthy bondholders each year.

Garza says that the funds to meet human needs in New York City are readily available. Just do away with Washington's \$115 billion war budget and cancel interest payments to the rich. Put that money to use to rebuild the cities, instead.

One South Bronx man, upon receiving a "Garza for Mayor" brochure, was suspicious at first. But when he noted the name Socialist Workers Party he exclaimed, "Now that's the right party, all right!"

Urges independent Black politics

SWP makes mark on New Orleans election

By Scott Breen

NEW ORLEANS—"Most of you have probably seen the TV election ad that has the punch line, 'New Orleans is that kind of city, and Joe DiRosa is that kind of man.'

"What kind of city is New Orleans?" asked Joel Aber, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, at a September 23 campaign rally.

"New Orleans is fifty of fifty major cities in illiteracy. Sixty-fifth of sixty-five major cities in substandard housing. A city where the rich thrive amid poverty, urban decay, racism, sexual oppression, and meager social services. New Orleans is *that* kind of city."

Aber's campaign aimed to change all that. He and his running mates—Derrick Morrison and Laurie Burke, both candidates for at-large city council seats—ran on a program of school desegregation, equal rights for women, and paying for needed social services by taxing the rich and eliminating the \$115 billion federal war budget.

An important development in Morrison's campaign was the endorsement he received from Black, Young, Progressive (BYP), a neighborhood politi-

cal organization. Leaders of the group have been involved in the fight to free Gary Tyler, a Black high school student serving a life prison term for a murder he didn't commit.

BYP also endorsed several Democrats, including Ernest Morial, a Black judge who won the most votes in the primary. Morial may become the city's first Black mayor. If that happens, Morial's election would be part of a growing trend in major U.S. cities. Black Democrats have been elected mayor in Los Angeles, Detroit, Atlanta, Newark, and Gary, Indiana.

This trend is a distorted reflection of the aspirations of the oppressed Black masses for political representation. The potential explosiveness of denial of these aspirations was shown during the civil rights movement, the ghetto rebellions of the late 1960s, and most recently by the New York City blackout.

All this convinced the Democratic Party that it had to clean up its act, opening more elective posts to Blacks willing to cooperate with its procapitalist policies.

Commenting on the BYP's support for Morial, Morrison told the *Militant*



Joel Aber and Derrick Morrison

Militant/Mike Alewitz

that real social gains for Blacks cannot be won through the Democratic Party. The problems Blacks face, he said, are the result of the capitalist system of production for profit instead of human need. All Democrats, Morrison noted, even the most radical-sounding, represent a party committed to preserving that system.

Morrison pointed to the example of Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson. Although he was elected with the overwhelming support of Blacks and municipal workers unions, Jackson did not hesitate to fire 1,000 striking sanitation workers, most of them Black, earlier this year.

Aber, Morrison, and Burke all campaigned for a break with the Democratic Party and for independent political action by Black and other working people.

A measure of the SWP's impact on the city election here could be seen at the September 23 campaign rally. Bringing greetings to the meeting were Nadine Henneman, a longtime feminist and member of the National Organization for Women, and Mary Jo Meinstone of the Gary Tyler Defense Fund.

Tyler himself sent a telegram to the meeting.

SWP members and campaign supporters have been active in Tyler's defense.

Merely getting on the ballot proved to be a significant victory. Louisiana had an unconstitutional requirement that candidates take a "loyalty oath." A lawsuit filed by the three SWP candidates and handled by the American Civil Liberties Union struck down this undemocratic law.

Aber vs. chief of police on political spying

NEW ORLEANS—A September 23 confrontation between Joel Aber and top cop Clarence Giarrusso was front-page news here.

"Mayor Aspirant Denied Police Files," read the front-page headline in the evening *States-Item*.

"We're here to demand that you hand over your files on me and my party," the socialist mayoral candidate told Giarrusso.

For two weeks, Aber and American Civil Liberties Union Director Marlene Roeder tried unsuccessfully to make an appointment with Giarrusso. Finally, followed by an entourage of TV cameras and reporters, Aber and Roeder just walked into the chief's office.

After waiting more than an hour,

Aber and Roeder were permitted to meet with Giarrusso.

"Who told you I have files on you and your party?" the chief asked.

Aber cited police photographers taking pictures of people who entered the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters and police surveillance of him at an August 27 rally for women's rights as just two examples.

"You are not a district attorney to question me," Giarrusso said. "You are in the position of a mayoralty candidate and not an attorney."

"I suggest you go to the proper forum for this, which is the courts in this America which I so dearly love," Giarrusso continued, "and God bless America."

"Do you believe in the First Amendment to the Constitution?" Roeder asked Giarrusso.

"I believe in the whole Constitution," Giarrusso said, "but some people abuse it. I love America."

The *States-Item* story that night noted that "a police spokesman refused to comment" when a reporter asked whether the cops keep the SWP under surveillance.

Columnist Jack Wardlaw, in the September 28 *States-Item*, sharply criticized the police for wasting taxpayers' money spying on a group that "has done nothing illegal." Wardlaw reminded readers that the local police activity is similar to national FBI harassment and surveillance of the SWP. —S.B.

In Our Opinion

Free them all!

The release of Andrés Figueroa Cordero—one of five Nationalists imprisoned since the early 1950s for actions carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence—is, as he has said, a victory for all those who fought to win his freedom.

But it is a bitter victory—one in which joy turns to anger as we see him carried in a wheelchair from an airplane, or hear that twice during his hometown welcoming he was given oxygen to keep him alive.

It is bitter because he is dying of cancer, and doctors give him only weeks to live. It is a cancer that could have been cured had authorities yielded in time to his pleas for proper treatment.

And it is bitter because his comrades—Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, and Oscar Collazo—are still in prison.

Right up to Figueroa Cordero's release, "Justice" Department officials tormented him, telling him he would be freed just as soon as he signed papers asking U.S. imperialism to pardon him—something they knew full well the Nationalists had always refused on principle to do. And even if it meant never seeing his beloved homeland again, Figueroa Cordero wouldn't sign.

Such dignity and courage have made the Five Nationalists symbols of the struggle for Puerto Rican freedom. That's why four of them remain in prison. That's why Figueroa Cordero was released only on the verge of death, although it's been known for years he has terminal cancer.

Carter's claim that he released the prisoner out of "humanitarian" concern is revolting. If Carter had an atom of human decency and compassion in him, he would have freed Figueroa Cordero the moment he took office.

Carter freed the prisoner because as medical bulletins became more alarming the outrage in Puerto Rico was so great that even the island's past and present elected governors—every one a loyal supporter of U.S. imperialism—demanded that Carter act.

Mass pressure has now freed one of the Five. More public protests can free the others. The U.S. Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists, a new, broadly sponsored coalition, is launching a campaign to win unconditional release by Christmas. We urge our readers to join this effort.

Free them all now!

Carter's gas swindle

With White House help, the Democratic Party-controlled Senate acted this month to take billions of dollars each year out of working people's pockets and put them in the coffers of the energy trust.

By a fifty-to-forty-six vote, the Senate decided to lift price controls on newly produced natural gas within two years. Fronting for Carter was Vice-president Walter Mondale, who intervened decisively to end a filibuster by Senate opponents of gas deregulation.

Those who favor decontrol argue that higher prices will encourage oil corporations to step up new production of the supposedly scarce natural resource.

This argument is disproved by the facts. Since 1972 Washington has raised the ceiling price for new gas by 500 percent. But in the same five-year period, new production of natural gas has decreased!

To shield such facts from the public, the energy trust shrouds its operations in secrecy. Figures about gas and oil reserves, for example, come from company sources with minimal government supervision.

To uncover the truth about the corporation's claims, working people will have to fight to open all the records of the energy trust to committees of unionists and consumers.

"The battle ground in 1977 and for years to come," said Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.), who filibustered against deregulation, "will be centered on the basic issue of who actually runs the economy and in whose interest."

That is indeed the basic issue.

And the decontrol vote points to a simple answer: the Democrats and Republicans run the country in the interests of big business.

That's why working people need to break from these parties and forge their own party—a labor party based on a fighting trade-union movement. A labor party would nationalize the energy monopolies and place them under the democratic management of the workers.

It would fight for a rational energy plan to conserve the earth's resources, protect the environment, and provide sufficient and cheap energy for all.

Letters

Militant reader in Iran

I read the *Militant* when an American friend sends it to me. I want you to know that your publication is greatly appreciated by myself and my comrades. Socialist newspapers are almost impossible to find in this poor fascist country. But with your support, and the support of other socialist organizations, we will overthrow the terrorist regime of the shah and achieve socialism.

S.K.
Iran

is on the side of the less fortunate, both in this country and abroad.

After I left the plant Thursday and got on the bus, an older Black worker got on. He was carrying a *Militant*. Some white workers started hassling him, calling him racist names. They said, "We don't like niggers who read commie trash." I got up and told them, "I don't like people who tell other people what to do and what to read. I read the same paper."

They jumped up and started slugging. The bus driver broke it up and made the racists get off.

The way I see it, Blacks are capable of fighting their own battles, but it's the responsibility of white folks to put racist thugs in their place. Furthermore, anybody that tries to tell me what to read may have a fight on their hands.

Larry Welch
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Reads same paper

In most respects I consider myself an average working-class white male with my own share of prejudices and biases. Since I started reading the *Militant*, however, I have learned to deal with those prejudices in a healthy and constructive way.

I'm not sure if I'm a Marxist or not because I don't know much about the Marxist philosophy. But I read your paper when I can, and I'm trying to get an understanding of it. It's not easy for me because I didn't finish high school. It is at least obvious that the *Militant*

Straightforward news

We have heard of your newspaper, but have not had the chance of seeing it. Since the prison system here is oppressive toward those of us

Peltier writes from prison

The following letter was sent to the 'Militant' by American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier. Peltier was found guilty this year on frame-up charges of murdering two FBI agents during harassment raids on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1975.

Greetings to all my brothers and sisters:

In late June, I was assigned a cell in the United States Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. I've had a chance to look around for a month or so, and I would like to share some of my experiences with you.

They took my name and tried to replace it with a number: 89637-132. This is the government's experimental behavior modification center for political prisoners. Their No. 1 Maxi-Kamp. The baddest one they've got. They keep about 500 captives here under the tightest security ever devised by the evil genius of man. No matter where you go, you are never out of the sight of your captors. TV cameras everywhere. Two-way microphones pick up almost every word you utter. A very weird thing to get used to. A Clockwork Orange. Complete control.

I enjoy the company of Rafael Cancel Miranda, the Puerto Rican Nationalist, who has the distinction of being one of the longest-held political prisoners in contemporary American history. There are six Native American brothers here besides myself. One of them, Alfred Smith, is in the dreaded Control Unit.

The Control Unit has about seventy sealed-tomb tiger cages, many of them constructed with closed steel fronts so that they are virtually soundproof. These are sensory deprivation chambers, and they are used to cage human mammal organisms for very long periods of time. Brothers are sent to these cages from all over the federal system for experiments in brain tampering. Hiller Hayes has been on deadlock in the Control Unit for five-and-a-half years.

The most sadistic thing about this



Nation/Celia Curry

type of solitary confinement is that you are in the cage twenty-three-and-a-half hours of every day. Alone. Men go mad. Some commit suicide. Others only mutilate themselves.

The prisoners in the Control Unit have filed a law suit in federal court to see if the judge will think these terms of confinement are unconstitutional. A decision is due most any day now. We hope to see the court close that draconian forever and return our brothers to us.

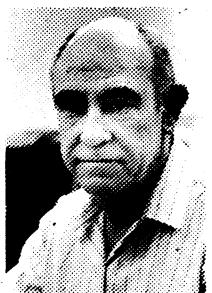
Jails are not nice places to be, and we must remember that thousands of our people are in prison for resisting the genocidal policies of the U.S. We should support our brothers and sisters in prisons and jails all over the U.S. and Canada. All Native People are political prisoners whether they know it or not. They all deserve our support.

The U.S. thinks they can stop our movement by locking us in a cell but they're wrong. We will resist with our lives the outright murders, the theft of our lands, the forced sterilizations. We will have justice rather than more lies, deceit, and broken treaties. We will continue to fight for complete sovereignty—nothing less than nationhood—and so long as the Mother Earth provides and the Great Spirit guides, there is not a power on earth that can stop us!

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse,
Leonard Peltier
P.M.B. 89637-132
P.O. Box 1000
Marion, Illinois 62959

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



'One big printers union'

The following guest column is by George Johnson, a chapel chairperson (shop steward) in California Bay Area Typographical Union Number 21.

News from the August convention of the International Typographical Union (ITU) in Cincinnati was heartening to workers in the printing and communications trades. Merger of printing-trades unions at long last appears to be under way.

Delegates to the convention voted to merge with the Mailers union and approved a report on merger with the Newspaper Guild that pointed to fusion as early as next year.

Combined membership of these three unions is 106,000. But the necessity of "one big union" to meet the attacks of the employers goes further.

Other unions are responding favorably to the merger, including the 300,000-member Paperworkers and the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (press operators).

It is high time we combined our strength in this industry. Employers in recent years have taken advantage of automation and the incompatibility of our traditional craft divisions to weaken our unions significantly.

No more than 25 percent of printing workers in this country are organized. Conditions in all shops have suffered with the decline of the unions' strength.

In the Bay Area we had a recent demonstration of the need for printing workers' unity during contract negotiations with daily papers in San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose. The nine unions involved have a common contract expiration date and a joint negotiating body on economic issues.

With the unions bargaining together and pledging to respect each others' picket lines, the newspaper owners

settled without a strike. ITU Local 21 succeeded in staving off an employer demand for the right to "buy out" jobs (after which, of course, no union member steps in to replace the bought-out member). Most, if not all, other ITU locals around the country have succumbed to the bosses on buy-out.

The newspaper owners settled just before a weekend educational conference called by Local 21, to which members of other printing-trades unions were invited. It was attended by more than eighty people, including officials and some younger ITU activists.

Not surprisingly, the recent negotiations and the need for merger were on everyone's mind. There was also discussion of how to organize workers not in unions. The need for independent political action by labor was raised during a session on strategy.

Several Local 21 members, including myself, prepared a leaflet for the conference that called merger a necessary step to answer the attacks by the bosses. We said that unions must champion the rights of all oppressed—women, Blacks, Chicanos, gays, and others. "The best way to defend our own rights is to join with others under attack," we wrote.

The leaflet also pointed to the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign as a step forward for labor.

Response was favorable, both at the conference and in shops where the leaflet was posted.

These are all signs of stirrings over the attacks by the bosses and their government in a bastion of conservative craft unionism. These signs indicate a coming revitalization of the union movement.

In the 1930s some ITU leaders and locals supported the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which was an earlier revitalization of the unions. We can hope that printing-trades and communications workers will play a larger role in the one that's coming.

considered true revolutionary socialists, we find it very hard to keep up on the proper news. I have heard that you present the news in a straightforward form, which is of interest to every socialist. News presented in the proper form and context, as it pertains to what everyone should know, is hard to find. I would like to request any old, extra, or unused issues you can spare. Such material will be used to inform, politically educate, and propose action modes among comrades here.

We have found that it is necessary for every comrade to be informed of the latest events. New and better information helps to advance toward the goals that ever-changing issues present. Any information whatsoever can be used here to the utmost. It is rare. Keep up your fine work. We wish to voice our support to those who dare to print the truth, and commend you for advancing the struggle. A victory is certain—we will win.

A prisoner
Joliet, Illinois

Corporations built on greed

An article I read in the August 9 *Atlanta Constitution* reveals how multinational corporations operating in a poor country reap tremendous profits.

According to the article, the Indian government recently served notice on the Coca Cola Company to transfer their shareholdings in that country to Indian shareholders. George Fernandes, India's industries minister, said: "The activities of the Coca Cola Co. in India during the last 20 years furnish a classic example of how a multinational corporation operating in a low priority, high profit area in a developing country attains runaway growth and . . . can trifle with the weaker indigenous industry in the process."

The minister said that in the 1950s, Coca Cola invested a mere \$100,000 in their Indian bottling plants and in twenty-five years had remitted over \$12.5 million "by way of imports, profits, home office and service charges."

Coca Cola was forced to sell their interests to Indian bottling companies but not without a "very high margin of profit of about 400 percent," he said.

Is it any wonder that other countries know the U.S. multinational corporations are built on greed, fraud, deceit, exploitation, and the protection of the CIA?

John Rabbets
Cullman, Alabama

Likes 'Bakke' coverage

The *Militant* is an excellent paper—keep up the good work! I really enjoy "Great Society" and "Capitalism Fouls Things Up." And, as a female student, the articles on Bakke and the women's struggles are of vital interest.

Sandra Denton
Greeley, Colorado

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



The story of Sharon Steel

All is not gloom and doom in the steel industry. True, some 18,000 steelworkers have been laid off in Youngstown, Lackawanna, Johnstown, and other cities. And true, thousands more are threatened with losing their jobs if they don't speed up at work and shape up for the companies' anti-import drive.

Many unemployed steelworkers—in between figuring out how to pay their grocery bills—have no doubt felt deep concern about how the top executives of their poverty-pleading corporations are faring.

"It would be tragic indeed," the workers must be saying, "if our captains of industry were ever to grow so faint from hunger that they faltered in their anti-import crusade that promises to bring higher prices to all of us."

Take heart! Last year the six men who are the chief executives of Armco, Bethlehem, Inland, National, Republic, and U.S. Steel were paid a combined total of more than \$2 million in salaries and bonuses. Not the highest pay in the corporate world, but enough to keep body and soul together. Even if the price of a new car goes up \$1,000 next year, these prophets of protectionism will not have to walk to work.

Edgar Speer, chairman of U.S. Steel, fared the best. He got \$325,000 in salary and \$100,000 in bonuses for his services last year.

It is hard for most of us to imagine \$425,000. A worker receiving the minimum wage would have to labor ceaselessly for eighty-nine years to match that total. Even the average steelworker—one of the better-paid workers in this country—cannot expect to earn as much in a lifetime as Speer takes home in a single year.

If you assume Speer works forty hours a week, fifty-two weeks a year—which is certainly questionable—his remuneration amounts to \$204 an hour. And that's not even counting dividends, pension plan, or profits from exercising stock options.

But there is more to life at the top than just salary and bonuses. This was underlined recently by the case of Victor Posner, chairman of the Sharon Steel Corporation.

On September 20 the federal Securities and Ex-

change Commission accused Posner and his son and daughter of putting more than \$1.7 million worth of personal housing, services, and travel on the tab of Sharon Steel and five other companies they control.

Posner charged more than \$100,000 worth of air travel to such vacation spots as Haiti, the Bahamas, Mexico, Las Vegas, Miami, and St. Simons Island.

A penthouse suite for Posner's use at the Plaza Hotel in New York cost \$100,000 a year. It included four bedrooms, a wine vault, kitchen, breakfast room, card parlor, game room, dining room, living room, and assorted other amenities.

The Posners charged liquor, grocery, restaurant, and other bills to their companies. They enjoyed the use of a Mercedes, a limousine with driver, and various other cars to the tune of more than \$200,000.

The irony is that none of Posner's escapades were illegal. All big corporations provide such "executive perquisites" as a matter of course. Posner's firms erred only by failing to report the expenses to the Securities and Exchange Commission as required.

Corporate executives do not have to pay tax on these luxuries, unless they choose to report them as completely unrelated to business. Even then, "the truth is that IRS enforcement in this area has been sporadic, and its rule-making almost nonexistent," an Internal Revenue Service official confided to *Newsweek* magazine.

The Posner scandal provides a peek at the lush lifestyle of those who are today exhorting underpaid steelworkers to speed up production and accept lower health and safety standards to "save" the U.S. steel industry.

To be sure, the exorbitant salaries, bonuses, and company-paid high living by executives are not the only cause of the crisis in steel. But they are one indication of the fraud and deception steelworkers will uncover when they begin fighting to open the books of the steel trust to discover for themselves the truth about the industry's finances.

If those books were ever opened, they would disclose profiteering ripoffs that make Victor Posner look like a piker.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Well qualified—We don't understand the big flap about Bert Lance. It seems to us that anyone who can flout all the rules in borrowing money and get away with heavy overdrafting is the ideal choice for budget director.

No-comment dep't—"CORNER BROOK, Newfoundland (UPI)—Environmentalist Brian Davies was fined \$1,000 and sentenced to fourteen days in jail Wednesday for flying his helicopter too close to a seal herd in which hunters were slaughtering animals with clubs."

Police the cribs—Crime is not the



'Thank goodness it's the economic indicators that are down . . . and not the economy itself.'

product of social environment, and criminal traits can be detected in children by age three, says Dr. Stanton Samenow, a psychologist who studied 115 convicted inmates at a federal mental institution. Not one of them, he said, was really ill. Right, doc?

Postmaster wanted?—The Post Office has increased its rewards. Like for turning in a mail robber, the reward has been upped from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

Breaking the job barrier—Now twenty-four, Joseph Kennedy III, son

of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy, decided it was time to go to work. He got hired as a special assistant in the Community Services Administration. \$25,000 per annum.

Flying high—Declaring the accompanying evidence "too inconclusive," the Federal Aviation Administration rejected a petition to bar flight-crew members from smoking for eight hours prior to departure. A consumer coalition declared in its petition that smoking had "deleterious effects on vital brain and nervous system functioning that are incompatible with maximum air safety."

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

The 'hot tip'

Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

Last August 5 New Yorkers woke to the news that police had gotten their first big break in the hunt for the FALN, a mysterious terrorist group. The group was said to have claimed responsibility for a fatal bombing two days earlier, with a note demanding independence for Puerto Rico.

The story was that the cops got an anonymous phone tip the day of the bombings saying "someone" at a Bronx apartment was connected with the bombing. Acting under the "hot pursuit" doctrine, local cops and FBI agents raided the apartment without a warrant that afternoon. They claimed to have found guns, ammunition, FALN literature, membership lists, and "interesting material."

When police returned in a second raid, David Pérez came by the apartment. Police grabbed him as a suspect. They launched a dragnet for another suspect, Vicente Alba. His name is on the mailbox.

After many years of political activity, I've come to expect the police to lie whenever activists—

especially Blacks or Latinos—are involved. So, on general principle, I didn't believe the story when it was printed. And I wasn't disappointed.

The real story about the phone tip, the cops now say, was that "someone" called about the apartment but said nothing about the bombings or the FALN. Police admit that there were no FALN membership lists. The FALN literature was stickers that have been widely distributed at New York demonstrations. The police have yet to show the alleged weapons to anyone. And, at a preliminary hearing September 28, charges against Alba and Pérez were reduced to misdemeanors—hardly your everyday front-page crime story.

Shortly before that hearing, I spoke with Alba and Pérez.

Alba said the raid and arrests had nothing to do with any tips. "It wasn't the phone call. The place was picked out because of political activity." He sees the arrest as part of an overall move by the government against the Puerto Rican independence movement and its supporters.

Both Alba and Pérez have been prominent

Catarino Garza



activists in the campaign to free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists, who have been held in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s. One reason for the attempted frame-up, Alba said, is "the growing interest in and prominence of the struggle to free the Five at a time when the U.S. government has raised the issue of human rights."

Alba said among the items taken from his apartment were typewriters, a mimeograph machine, t-shirts with pictures of the Five, and literature on the case.

Pérez viewed the repression as part of the drive by Puerto Rican Gov. Carlos Barceló to impose statehood on Puerto Rico. They must repress the independence movement, he explained, because it stands in the way of a rigged referendum to rubber-stamp a decision to make Puerto Rico a state.

Alba and Pérez say they won't be silenced by the government's drive against them. "We'll continue to be active in the campaign to free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists and in the fight against grand jury repression."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Human error, it's called

When oil in the Alaska pipeline leaked and exploded last July, killing one worker and injuring five others, the pipeline companies said it was "human error."

That's what the corporations say every time oil spills, radiation leaks, or someone is injured on the job.

But a closer look at the "errors" shows who's really responsible.

After the pipeline blast, Alyeska, the pipeline builder and operator, immediately blamed its workers. According to Alyeska, "someone" opened a valve to clean it while the oil was passing through, and the oil vaporized and exploded.

Workers told a different story. "It [the valve] opened by itself," charged Herb Robson, who was there.

The National Transportation Safety Board, however, agreed with Alyeska: "[It] appears that the technicians *intend on expediting the oil flow*" (emphasis added) might have "inadvertently" disregarded the company's written rules.

"Expediting the oil flow." Who benefits from disregarding safety rules to get the oil through the pipeline faster? The pipeline workers? Or Alyeska, which has \$9 billion sunk in the project? Or the oil corporations, eager to get their hands on the 9.7 billion barrels of North Slope oil?

It's hardly news anymore that shoddy construction makes the pipeline a prime candidate for oil leaks. Alyeska was interested in getting the construction job done in a hurry. So it's perfectly plausible that the valve in Pump House 8 could have malfunctioned and opened by itself.

But even if someone did try to clean a filter the wrong way to save some time, he was only doing what company policy dictated.

In 1975 two workers at the Browns Ferry, Alabama, nuclear plant were sealing air leaks under the reactor control room. They used a candle to check to see if the leaks were filled. Air rushing through a hole sucked up the flame and ignited the urethane used to plug the holes. The fire quickly spread, knocking out nearly all reactor controls. A major nuclear disaster was barely avoided.

Arnold Weissberg



The cause of the near-catastrophe? "Human error," according to plant officials.

A report by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission found that plant management had been given plenty of warnings that urethane was highly flammable. All the plant electricians knew it.

So evidently top plant operators didn't want to spend the money to use something safer for plugging leaks.

It's true that humans make errors. But the Alaska pipeline explosion and Browns Ferry fire didn't happen because someone made a mistake.

They happened because the oil companies, the utilities, and every other corporation are in business to make a profit. When they do a job, they do it as cheaply as possible.

So when there's another New York City blackout, or when an accident at a nuclear power plant gets out of control, you can bet they'll blame it on "human error."

Because "human error," for them, sounds a lot better on the evening news than "corporate error."

NOW leader urges big turnout for IWY conf.

By Joan Buchanan

SAN ANTONIO—Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, urged Texas NOW members to mobilize on a major scale to attend the International Women's Year conference scheduled for Houston November 18-21.

Right-wing forces are organizing a large presence at the conference, she said, to try to impose their reactionary positions. As a result, the conference is shaping up as a political battle between women's rights advocates and the right-wing minority that is seeking to destroy the gains women have won over the decades.

"We have to mobilize for this conference or eleven years of hard work goes up in smoke," said Smeal. She was in San Antonio addressing the state convention of Texas NOW. The conference, held October 1-2, was attended by more than 200 women.

The IWY conference, she said, "will be interpreted as NOW's defeat if it goes badly. . . . We must be there in such large numbers that the anti-women's rights movement cannot disrupt it."

"If you hadn't planned on going," Smeal emphasized, "please reconsider. This is a conference for women and where else should we be?"

Smeal's stand helped put the need to mobilize for the IWY conference into



Militant/Nancy Cole

NOW PRESIDENT SMEAL: Women must meet right-wing challenge at International Women's Year conference.

sharp focus for the convention delegates. The consensus was that Texas NOW has a major responsibility to bring women to Houston.

A series of resolutions on various aspects of building for the IWY conference came out of the workshops and were approved by the convention.

One resolution called for urging the participation of organized labor "in rallying to the cause of equality at the national women's conference in Houston."

Another urged NOW delegates to the IWY conference to organize on a plat-

form that includes a strong plank in support of a woman's right to choose abortion.

A third resolution urged the support of lesbian rights at the conference.

In other business, Texas NOW delegates voted to reject a proposal to raise state dues from one dollar to five dollars a year. State dues are in addition to fifteen dollars annual national dues and five dollars chapter dues. The delegates agreed on state dues of two dollars.

The Equal Rights Amendment workshop was one of the largest at the convention. Smeal, leading the workshop, characterized 1977 as the year of defeat for ERA supporters.

Pointing out that a majority of people support the ERA, she said, "What we won in the opinion polls, we lost in horse-trading. We took a low-profile approach so we wouldn't make anyone mad and we lost state after state. We learned that we have to be able to deliver pressure to win."

Indiana, she continued, was the exception to the string of defeats. "We organized a march in a blizzard with lots of NOW banners," she observed, "and the legislators knew what those banners meant. In every other state we were going to organize vigils and demonstrations and rallies. But we were talked out of it. And the ERA went down in defeat."

Smeal pointed to NOW's obligation to provide leadership to the ERA struggle. She also stressed that it is a national struggle that must be fought with a national strategy, not on a state-by-state basis.

Abandoning other issues, such as the right to abortion, in hopes of saving the ERA was rejected by Smeal. "The right-wing opponents of women's rights are opposed to all rights for women, not just a few."

"What has happened in the abortion field," she added, "is totally disgraceful. The president and the administration's position on Medicaid and on poor women and abortion is intolerable, and we must register our protest in an effective way."

DANBURY, Connecticut—The first meeting of the NOW northeastern regional college and high school committee took place here October 1-2. The committee, established at the June northeastern regional conference of NOW, will coordinate the work of local chapters in reaching out to campus feminists.

The meeting discussed ways to bring more students into NOW, including the publication of a brochure to aid in building chapters of NOW on the campuses. Another meeting was set for January.

N.Y. women's groups plan to picket Califano

By Shelley Kramer

"I have never met a woman who had an abortion," claimed Joseph Califano, secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, at his confirmation hearing earlier this year.

Carter appointee Califano is an outspoken opponent of government funding for abortions. With White House approval, he immediately cut off HEW Medicaid for abortions this summer, after court rulings upheld the 1976 congressional ban on abortion funding.

To protest the HEW's anti-woman stand, New York abortion rights activists have called a picket line for November 12 outside New York University Law School, where Califano will be speaking. The demonstrators will raise three demands: restore Medicaid funds for abortion, end sterilization abuse, and end the cutbacks in HEW funds.

Organizations sponsoring the demonstration include the Women's Center at New York University; NYU Women Law Students; National Organization for Women; and CARASA, the Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse.

A similar action took place October 5, when Jimmy Carter addressed the

United Nations. Supporters of abortion rights picketed outside the UN chanting: "Not the church, not the state, women must control their fate!" The demonstration was cosponsored by NOW and the National Abortion Rights Action League.

It is estimated that 70 percent of the 300,000 women who depend on Medicaid for abortions each year will now seek illegal abortions. Hundreds will die at the hands of back street butchers. Thousands more will be hospitalized due to complications.

In a related development, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has decided to make abortion rights its top priority for the coming year.

At an October 6 news conference, national ACLU leaders condemned the actions of the U.S. Supreme Court, Congress, and the Carter administration to restrict legal abortion and Medicaid funds. "Freedom of choice is gravely in danger," said Norman Dorsen, the group's national chairperson.

Dorsen said the ACLU will campaign against the right wing's call for a constitutional convention to outlaw abortion. Nine state legislatures have thus far voted approval for such a convention.

NOW: no abortion compromise

The September/October issue of *Do It NOW*, newspaper of the National Organization for Women, reports on the congressional stalemate over the 1977 Hyde amendment, which would continue the freeze on Medicaid funds for abortions. *Do It NOW* points out that the Senate's more "liberal" version—the Brooke amendment, which permits funds for "medically necessary" abortions—has produced dangerous confusion among women's groups.

"Some abortion rights advocates are willing to accept the compromise Senate language," says the newspaper. "Other advocates, most notably *The National Organization for Women*, refuse to gamble."

The article goes on to quote a statement by Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW:

"While NOW condemns the Hyde Amendment as totally inhumane, we cannot support the Brooke Amendment. Although we appreciate Senator Brooke's attempt to provide more access to poor women, the Brooke Amendment implies that a person's right is divisible even though the Supreme Court has ruled that every woman has a right to choose."

"THE NATIONAL ORGANIZA-

TION FOR WOMEN WILL NOT DESERT ANY GROUP OF WOMEN. We are not willing to compromise our position! These constraints condemn young poor women to a circle of poverty from which they cannot escape.

"Statistics prove that Americans overwhelmingly support a woman's right to choose. Twenty-five percent of all American women have had an abortion. Since the Supreme Court has thrown the decision into the political arena, we will meet the opposition head-on."

Smeal's statement represents a welcome change on the part of the NOW leadership. The August issue of *Do It NOW* promoted the opposite attitude toward the Brooke amendment. An article by Arlie Scott, NOW vice-president for action, said that "NOW and pro-abortion organizations are lobbying for the 'medically necessary' Senate language as the least offensive of the alternatives."

The firm stance against the House and Senate amendments taken in the latest issue of *Do It NOW* will aid NOW nationally and locally in intensifying the campaign to defend abortion rights.

—S.K.

Nat'l meeting of Black women

"This Conference is, we hope, a first step toward breaking the long silence about the oppression we experience on a daily basis," says the brochure for the National Black Women's Conference planned for Chicago, October 21-23. "It is time for the masses of Black women to come together to combat racism and sexism. Surely, the time has come for 'A Meeting of the Minds.'"

The conference, to be held at the Midland Hotel, is sponsored by the National Alliance of Black Feminists (NABF). The program includes plenary sessions, guest speakers, and workshops. One of the

workshops will discuss perspectives for the Black Women's Caucus at the Houston International Women's Year conference in November.

Among the scheduled conference speakers are Aileen Hernandez, former president of the National Organization for Women; Rev. Willie Barrow, national president of PUSH; and Addie Wyatt, an international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and a vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

For more information, write to NABF at 202 South State Street, Suite 1024, Chicago, Illinois 60604.



Militant/Mike Skinner
NOW-sponsored picket line against abortion restrictions in St. Louis. Continued protests are needed to defeat government's anti-abortion attacks.

Selling the 'Militant' on the job

By Andrea Baron

Sales to co-workers are an important part of the fall subscription drive. In many cities, steelworkers, auto and railroad workers, teachers, and others have taken on goals for sales to co-workers this fall.

In Houston members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union have found that sales on the job are easy. They set a goal of thirty subscriptions for the drive. They've already sold sixteen.

Twelve of these have been sold by Jana Pellusch.

"The best way to sell a lot of subs is to ask everyone you know," Pellusch says. "We make a list of everyone we think will be interested. Then we try to talk to them about some of the current issues and articles."

"After work I show them a copy and explain our special offer. So far, everyone we've asked has said yes."

"Many of the workers who bought subscriptions were Black. Besides the articles on the labor movement, they liked the seriousness of the *Militant's* coverage of Black issues—such as desegregation of the Chicago schools and the *Bakke* decision."

Chris Rayson works in a copper smelting plant in Cleveland. He found that the coverage of the steel strike in the Mesabi Iron Range made it easy to sell subscriptions.

Most workers in his plant work overtime just to meet their basic expenses. So when they hear that 18,000 steelworkers are on strike in the iron range, they want to know what it's all about.

Scoreboard

(Total received as of October 11)

City	Goal	Total	Percent
St. Paul	150	105 (1)*	70.0
Albuquerque	150	85 (13)	56.7
Salt Lake City	150	76 (8)	50.7
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	10	50.0
Portland, Ore.	250	113 (4)	45.2
Raleigh, N.C.	120	54 (1)	45.0
Kansas City, Mo.	225	87 (12)	38.7
Denver	300	110 (5)	36.7
Miami	250	91 (6)	35.4
Dallas	250	89 (4)	35.6
San Diego	300	103 (11)	34.3
Milwaukee	400	133 (8)	33.3
Phoenix	250	77 (9)	30.8
Cincinnati	200	61	30.5
Houston	600	174 (11)	29.0
Boston	825	221 (19)	26.8
New York	1,800	473 (51)	26.3
Los Angeles	1,100	285 (62)	25.9
Chicago	900	233 (10)	25.9
Detroit	850	219 (7)	25.8
Baltimore	175	45 (1)	25.7
Washington D.C.	600	148 (1)	24.7
New Orleans	300	74	24.7
St. Louis	375	92	24.5
Oakland	600	140 (10)	23.3
Pittsburgh	450	100 (2)	22.2
Cleveland	300	64 (3)	21.3
Atlanta	600	130 (7)	21.7
Tacoma	150	31 (3)	20.7
Berkeley	300	61 (2)	20.3
Newark	350	66 (9)	18.9
Toledo	150	28 (2)	18.7
Philadelphia	675	124 (5)	18.4
Louisville	150	25	16.7
San Antonio	350	57 (2)	16.3
Bloomington, Ind.	50	7	14.0
Minneapolis	350	44 (1)	12.6
Amherst, Ma.	40	5	12.5
Seattle	300	37 (1)	12.3
San Jose	350	39 (5)	11.1
Penn State, Pa.	40	4	10.0
San Francisco	600	52 (3)	8.7
Albany, N.Y.	75	6	8.0
Kent, Ohio	75	4	5.3
Indianapolis	150	1	0.7
Miscellaneous	170	(9)	
Total	18,000	4,353	24.2
Should be		5,600	30.0

*Figures in parentheses indicate number of 'Perspectiva Mundial' subscriptions included in totals.

KC raises goal

Alert readers may notice that there's a small but important change in the scoreboard. Kansas City has raised its goal from 150 to 225—33.3 percent. That's good news for the drive.

We'll be looking forward to seeing other areas raise their goals in coming weeks. Those cities ranking toward the top of the chart are likely candidates for such a raise.

Rayson says that the most important thing is to make the *Militant* as visible as possible. "A lot of people here bring magazines to read. So I bring in a copy of the *Militant* and put it down by my machine.

"People notice the *Militant* sitting there and the headlines on the iron range strike or on the Chicago desegregation fight, which they are also interested in. They frequently stop by and pick it up and ask me about it.

"Once I left an issue lying around and later found that the section on the iron ore strike was missing. The paper really gets spread around.

"The first person I sold a sub to was a Black worker who has been there for five years. He loved the article on the Mesabi strike and got a sub right away. Now he says he reads the *Militant* cover to cover every week.

Rayson found that it's important to be sensitive to the people you talk to. "One man was interested, but he was working two jobs and had little time to read. So I cut out some clippings from back issues of the *Militant* and put them in a folder. He took it home and read the clippings on Sunday.

"He was impressed to find that the *Militant* covers the labor movement every week and decided to get a subscription."

In summation, Rayson said, "You don't have to work in a plant a long time to talk to people and sell subs. I've been on the job for less than six months. I've sold four subs already and plan to sell a lot more before the drive is over. Two more people I've talked to are thinking about it already."

When you get right down to it, the *Militant* is in b...
Important ideas they can't find anywhere else. Social...
solve the problems they face.

So, if the *Militant* doesn't reach out and talk to ne...

That's what the *Militant* subscription drive is all ab...

The goal is to sign up 18,000 new subscribers—incl...

new biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine.

This week we're devoting our center spread to rep...

Reaching new readers



National subscription round-up

Catch-up weeks

Militant supporters in more cities are moving to set "catch-up weeks"—full weeks of intensive subscription gathering to take up the slack between their current standing and where they should be on the scoreboard.

San Antonio's big week is October 15-22; Tacoma's will be October 21-28; and Los Angeles will go all out October 16-21.

123 in two days

Los Angeles has already made encouraging progress over the weekend of October 8-9.

In those two days alone they sold 123 subscriptions.

"We had forty-five people go out on Saturday and twenty-five out on Sunday—with some participating both days," says Los Angeles Latino Socialist Workers Party organizer Rich Finkel. "Our focus was on the Black and Chicano communities and student housing."

Good news from Tacoma

Bob Rowand of Tacoma testifies to the value of revisiting people who only buy a single copy. He says subscription sellers in Tacoma get good results from follow-up during weekday nights.

It seems some people who've never seen the *Militant* before may be hesitant to buy a subscription on first encounter. But after reading a copy of the paper, they like what they find out and are willing to subscribe. (If the \$50 they pay for their first issue counts toward the subscription, then they only owe \$1.50 when you revisit them.)

Tacoma also reports good results from campus sales. A team of eight sold thirty-four

subscriptions in two hours at Evergreen State College.

Campus team II

A second national *Militant* campus team has hit the road. Southern California is this one's turf. It begins with two people—but there are plans to add a third before long.

After its first day out—to Cal State at Long Beach—the two-member team came back with eleven subscriptions.

And team I

Meanwhile, our first campus team is busy visiting cities in Ohio and Michigan.

Team member Gary Bal-sam says every Latino they meet is interested in *Perspectiva Mundial*. The vice-president of the Chicano student group at Eastern Michigan University got a subscription.

Anxious to help?

An invitation is extended to all *Militant* readers to aid the drive for new readers.

Among those who have responded is a group in Schenectady, New York.

Writes Greg Jonas: "I and my associates are anxious to aid the *Militant* in its current drive for subscribers. We have formed a committee for this and similar purposes. We have contacts on several campuses. Please send your subscription blanks and posters in time for the drive."

NOW subscribers

Ruth Getts of San Antonio says Texas socialists sold twenty-one subscriptions at a statewide NOW conference in that city October 1. That amounted to one sub for every ten women there. The *Militant* back page on Interna-

tional Women's Year sparked the sales.

Sub tips . . .

Our supporters think the *Militant* is the best paper around. They're always on the lookout for good ideas about how to get others to begin reading the paper.

During the subscription drive, we've been printing their suggestions. Here are some that came to us recently.

Save

I have found it very useful to make sure people understand how much money they are saving by taking advantage of this special offer.

The introductory offer allows you to get the paper for well below half price—twenty cents an issue versus fifty cents.

In explaining this I point to the section of the new subscription blank that says, "Save three dollars." This helps get across the advantage of subscribing rather than just buying one issue.

Kipp Dawson
Pittsburgh

Your name

This may seem obvious, but I think many of us forget to do it. When you're going door to door selling subscriptions, begin by introducing yourself—that is, tell them your name. It helps break the ice.

Chris Ihlenfeld
Milwaukee

Spanish

Even though fluent Spanish is not essential in selling subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, it can be an asset.

We have started a class on beginning Spanish. We've been learning conversations

ness for one reason: to reach people with our ideas. Ideas about what working people can and must do to readers. We're not doing our job. But—reaching new readers. And at least 500 readers of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the s on the progress of the campaign.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

alk about the mag-
er, though, *Pers-
tells itself. One Chi-
likes the paper so
asked us for back
how around among
s.*

*Carole Newcomb
Albuquerque
break*

nd that a good way
scriptions at work

is to bring a copy of the *Militant* with me to lunch or coffee break. I work in a large hospital in San Francisco, and most everybody takes a break or has lunch in the cafeteria. Most people will ask me what I'm reading. This gives me a good opportunity to talk to people about the paper. I've sold a number of subscriptions this way.

*Frank Calcagno
San Francisco*

Keep our Militant teams traveling...

If you go door to door in the trailer camps of Minnesota's iron range, you're likely to find a copy of the *Militant* at many homes. More than 100 subscriptions have been sold there in the past few months, mostly to striking miners. Seventy subscriptions were sold by a special team

affirmative action."

Although it is costly to finance these special *Militant* teams, the importance of getting our newspaper into the hands of activists, and expanding our circulation base has convinced us to send out more subscription teams.

Four *Militant* supporters are now traveling to campuses in the Ohio and Michigan area, and another team has begun selling at colleges in southern California. With your continued contributions, we hope to field more teams.

Our ability to do this depends on meeting our goal of \$50,000 for the Militant Fund Drive. As of October 10 we have collected \$28,042, or 56 percent.

This week \$240 in new contributions came in from readers. Because one of our readers has pledged to match every donation up

How it's done in Salt Lake City

By Jesse Smith

SALT LAKE CITY—Members of the Socialist Workers Party here are enthusiastic about the response they've been getting in the *Militant* subscription drive.

The Salt Lake SWP branch is already well over halfway to its goal of 150 new subscribers (see scoreboard). About 10 percent of these have signed up for *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language biweekly.

The sales week starts Saturday morning, when the new issue of the *Militant* has just arrived. Members gather at a regular time and place for a short briefing on the areas selected for door-to-door sales and about the other materials being distributed along with the paper. They also quickly familiarize themselves with feature articles in the new issue and compare notes on the areas they have previously visited.

Then they divide up into teams and head for their neighborhoods in the Black or Chicano community. Team members get back together at an agreed-on time, usually after an hour-and-a-half or so of talking to potential subscribers.

Each subscription seller carries a canvassing sheet so they can note down every address and apartment number, the response, and anything else to remember about the people visited. Often people want to be recontacted after they have read one issue or after they receive their paycheck. People who weren't home can be visited again next week. And anyone who is turned off by the best paper in the country can be noted as a door to skip on coming visits to the area.

The same salesperson who first visited a certain block or apartment house will go back later to follow up. This can often be done in half-an-hour on a weekday evening, leaving the next Saturday free for pushing on into a new area.

If the seller won't be able to stop by again to clinch a sale, he or she leaves a leaflet that describes the paper and has a coupon to be mailed to the local *Militant* sales office.

This systematic approach has been one of the factors in our success so far—not only in getting new readers signed up but in getting to know them and talking to them about movement activities the socialists are involved in.

Militant sellers give people leaflets on upcoming forums, meetings, and demonstrations on their first visit. They also make a point of stopping by the homes of regular readers and subscribers when they are in the area, dropping off the latest leaflet or

brochure. This gives them a chance to get to know *Militant* readers better, talk to them about the ideas in the paper, and find out what they might like to get involved in.

Door-to-door sales are only part of the subscription effort under way in Salt Lake City. Party members are involved in several movements and coalitions. They make a point of talking to activists about the *Militant* and *Perspectiva*, explaining that they are the best sources of information about things such as the women's movement and the fight against deportations around the country. About a dozen new subscribers have been introduced to the two publications in this way.

The other major focus is on the University of Utah campus, where a small chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance is working to get established. SWP members decided it would be a big help if they tried to sell a third of the branch's total subs on the campus.

A couple of party members who are free during the day are joining forces with YSA members to staff literature tables featuring the *Militant* and *Perspectiva*. By telling everyone who stops by about the special introductory offers, they got nine new subscribers the first day.

Salt Lake City has one of the newest and smallest SWP branches in the country. There are only a dozen members, some of whom are brand new and just getting their feet wet in the sub drive. Their experiences suggest some pointers that may be useful elsewhere.

Above all, the key is to be both aggressive and persistent. We ask everybody we meet to get a subscription. If they don't—if they decide to think about it for a while—we check back with them.

We sell in largely Black and Chicano communities, where people are feeling the economic crunch. If they can't afford the latest issue, we'll give them a back issue as a sample and ask them to budget two dollars as soon as they can for a subscription.

One of our early advantages was our previous regular sales visits to certain neighborhoods. People had gotten to know the paper and the salespeople and were open to the idea of subscribing. But we also had to recognize when we had saturated those areas with door-to-door canvassing.

We still follow up on specific people who have been thinking about subscribing, but we also keep adding new blocks or communities and repeating the process. The same can be done in other areas of the country in the remaining six weeks of the drive.

**Militant
\$50,000 fund**

composed of Bob Schwarz and Joyce Stoller, who have just returned from their trip.

Several subscription buyers were women miners, reports Stoller. "They not only wanted to read our coverage of the iron range strike, but were also interested in abortion rights and

to \$10,000, that \$240 doubled to \$480. So far in the matching fund, \$1,499 has been contributed, which equals \$2,998 toward our \$50,000 goal.

\$31,000 was pledged to the fund drive at an August rally for the *Militant* during the Socialist Workers Party convention. So far, \$25,044 of this money has been collected. The sooner we receive the rest of these pledged donations, the closer we will be to the \$50,000 mark.

I want to contribute:
 \$500 \$250 \$100
 \$50 \$25 \$10

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to: **The Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

...give to the \$50,000 fund today

Teacher strikes face fines, scabs, and jail

By Lynn Henderson

School boards across the country are dramatically stepping up their use of heavy fines, arrests, and scabs to crush teachers' strikes and to impose austerity contracts.

All three of these tactics are being used against a strike of 400 teachers, 65 clerical workers, and 6 bus drivers in Matawan, New Jersey.

The Matawan Regional Education Association called the strike September 16 after the school board drew up a new contract eliminating benefits the teachers had won over the past ten years.

The school board also refused to offer more than a 6 percent salary increase for each of the next three years.

On October 6, Judge Merritt Lane sentenced forty-four Matawan teachers to jail terms of ten to thirty days and levied fines of \$50 to \$150 each on charges of ignoring a back-to-work order issued the first day of the strike. Seventy-eight more teachers face hearings and possible jail terms during the next month.

On October 7 Associate Justice Alan Handler of the New Jersey

Supreme Court temporarily lifted the jailings until October 11, when, if the strike continues, teachers will possibly be sent back to complete their jail terms.

The board is trying to keep the eight schools in the system open by hiring 104 scab substitute teachers. Despite high rates of absenteeism and protests by parents, many of the makeshift classes have forty-five or more students. Movies are being shown in the auditoriums to fill out the days.

Among the thirty-five teachers taken from Judge Lane's court to jail cells was Janet Jones, who won the State Teacher of the Year award two years ago.

After a fifteen-day strike that began September 8, Mt. Diablo, California, teachers voted to return to work and refer the key issue in the strike—salary—to binding arbitration.

A major factor in their forced decision was the recruitment of 1,300 scabs throughout the state to break the strike.

The Mt. Diablo Unified School

District offered scabs eighty dollars for the first day of work and sixty dollars every day thereafter.

High unemployment among California teachers, and the almost total lack of concern by the union in the past for substitute teachers, who made up the bulk of the scabs, helped lead to the success of the school board's tactic.

Mt. Diablo school district, the tenth largest in the state, pays the lowest wages of all eighty Bay Area school districts.

On September 30 jail sentences and heavy fines forced the 300 teachers of the Franklin, Massachusetts, school system back to work after a two-week strike.

The strike began when the school committee demanded the right to carry out projected layoffs without regard to seniority. The school committee wants to save money by laying off senior teachers in higher pay categories.

On the first day of the strike 112 teachers were arrested for "trespassing." Superior Court Judge John Greany later jailed sixty teachers on

contempt of court charges under the state's law banning strikes by public employees.

The day before the vote by the Franklin Education Association (FEA) to return to work, Judge Greany threatened to jail the entire membership if the strike continued.

Greany also imposed fines totaling \$330,950 on the FEA and its members. The fines on individual teachers range up to \$1,550. The total fines are the equivalent of the entire dues income of the union for the next ten years.

Greany insists that all fines will be paid in full and that teachers must pay their own fines without any assistance from the union.

Greany also ordered the parent organization of the FEA, the Massachusetts Teachers Association (MTA), to publicly disavow the strike and place advertisements to that effect in four area newspapers.

The MTA contested the constitutionality of the ruling but Greany held it was legitimatized under the same state collective-bargaining law that justified his jailing of the teachers.

Defend the right of gays to teach school

By Diane Wang

James Gaylord used to teach social studies in a Tacoma, Washington, high school. He had graduated with honors from college and compiled a good thirteen-year record as a teacher.

But in 1972 Gaylord was fired. Why? Because he is a homosexual. No one accused him of doing anything improper. But when confronted by the school board, he refused to deny being gay.

John Gish, a teacher in New Jersey, was shifted from his teaching duties in 1972 and ordered to have a psychiatric test. Why? Gish had become president of his local Gay Activists Alliance (GAA).

On October 3 the United States Supreme Court refused to review these two cases, letting previous court rulings stand that legalized antigay discrimination.

In California, meanwhile, State Sen. John Briggs is preparing to collect 312,000 signatures to put an antigay referendum on the ballot there. Briggs's proposal "prohibits hiring, and requires dismissal" of any teacher, teacher's aide, administrator, or counselor "who has engaged in a public homosexual act" or who has "engaged in advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging or promoting of private or public homosexual acts directed at, or likely to come to the attention of school children and/or other employees."

The right of gay people to be teachers has become a major target of antigay bigots in recent months. According to a Gallup opinion poll last summer, there is more confusion on this issue than on any other gay rights question. Although 56 percent of those polled agreed that gays should have equal job opportunities in general, only 27 percent supported the right of gays to teach in elementary schools.

Marc Rubin, a leader of the Gay Teachers Association in New York, explained what lies behind the propaganda barrage against gay teachers.

"No matter what the opponents of gay teachers call it," he told the *Militant*, "what they are doing is using a euphemism for child molesting. It's a very clever and sophisticated way of hitting the same emotional button without actually saying that gay teachers are child molesters."



GAY TEACHERS ON THE MARCH: contingent in Los Angeles demonstration for gay rights last June 26.

Since statistics don't support the slanderous claim that gay teachers molest their students, most antigay bigots try to sound more reasonable: If only gay teachers don't "flaunt" their homosexuality, say the bigots, no one will know they are gay. Or they accuse gay teachers of trying to "recruit" students.

This, of course, is a double standard. What if a heterosexual teacher mentions a family or is seen in public with a wife or husband? Is that "flaunting" heterosexuality?

The idea that gay teachers should be forced to stay in the closet is based on the myth that society has a legitimate interest in suppressing homosexuality through the schools. Or as Anita Bryant put it last spring:

"I'm concerned about how it might influence the children. . . . I mean people who are role models being able to stand up and say 'I'm homosexual and I'm proud of it,' implying to our children that they have another legitimate choice open to them."

Saying that gays can teach as long

as they keep their homosexuality secret is like telling Blacks they can teach as long as no one notices they are not white. Or like telling Jewish teachers their jobs depend on being able to pass as Gentiles. "As long as you aren't seen going to a synagogue . . . , bigots might well say.

When gays are told they must hide their private lives, they are being forced to help perpetuate the stereotypes of homosexuality that reinforce antigay discrimination.

This attack threatens more than the estimated 120,000 to 240,000 gay teachers in this country. Once human rights are applied selectively, no one is safe.

If John Gish can be victimized for becoming president of the GAA, what about the teacher who becomes a prominent member of the NAACP? Or leader of a women's liberation group? Or candidate for office on a socialist slate? Or a union organizer?

Any teacher whose ideas differ from the prevailing political or social majority is vulnerable.

Union backing

Both the major U.S. teachers unions back the rights of gay teachers.

The National Education Association has passed a resolution saying, "The NEA believes that personnel policies and practices must guarantee that no person be employed, retained, paid, dismissed, or demoted because of . . . sexual orientation."

In 1970 the American Federation of Teachers passed a resolution saying:

"Whereas professional people insist that they be judged on the basis of professional and not personal criteria, and

"Whereas it is the responsibility of trade unions to provide job protection from all forms of discrimination that is not based on performance such as race, color, sex, religion, age or ethnic origin,

"Be it resolved that the AFT protests any personnel actions taken against any teacher merely because he or she practices homosexual behavior in private life."

Interview with desegregation caucus leader

AFT stand on 'Bakke' & busing hit

By Lynn Henderson

The following is an interview with Jeff Mackler, national coordinator of the American Federation of Teachers caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education. Mackler has been an activist in the AFT for the past eleven years. He is the organizer and former vice-president of AFT Local 1423 in Hayward, California, and former president of the Alameda County Council of the AFT.

Question. When and why was the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education formed?

Answer. Prior to 1975 the AFT leadership was on record as supporting school desegregation and endorsing busing as a necessary tool for accomplishing that goal. In 1975, however, at the national AFT convention in Hawaii, President Albert Shanker opposed and defeated every resolution supporting busing. This was a serious setback for the union, reversing our former policy of defending civil rights.

The AFT Desegregation and Equality in Education Caucus was formed after the Hawaii convention to fight for a probusing resolution at the 1976 convention in Miami.

Officers from over 200 AFT locals supported our probusing resolution and joined the caucus. The caucus played a leading role in opposing Shanker's antibusing position at the 1976 convention and again at the 1977 convention held in Boston last August.

Q. Why did the Shanker leadership abandon support for busing?

A. Shanker insists he doesn't oppose busing per se. His stated position is that busing is only one of a number of possible remedial tools for desegregating schools. But where busing has come under violent, racist attack—as in Boston—Shanker refuses to stand up and support Black rights.

In practice Shanker has retreated from support to desegregation and civil rights throughout the past ten years.

In 1968 he led his own local, the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, into a racist strike against Black and Puerto Rican community control of the schools.

In 1975 he abandoned any meaningful support to busing.

And this year he threw the full weight of the AFT's national apparatus behind the *Bakke* decision, which if upheld would be a death blow to affirmative-action programs across the country.

Last year, in a school system where 67 percent of the students are Black, Latino, and Chinese, the UFT was more than 95 percent white. Shanker defends the New York City Board of Education against federal government findings of massive discrimination in the hiring and promotion of teachers.

Under Shanker's leadership the UFT has become a white job trust. Shanker thinks his career as an AFL-CIO bureaucrat is best promoted by basing himself on the relatively privileged layer of older, high-seniority, white teachers. He fears and opposes any mobilization of the young, Black, and Puerto Rican teachers and is willing to see them bear the brunt of the crisis in education.

Shanker also places primary importance on his alliance with the Democratic Party and Democratic politicians. And they are fundamentally opposed to both busing and quotas.

Q. Why is busing such an important issue for teachers and the AFT?

A. This question is important for teachers on three levels.



JEFF MACKLER Militant/Lynn Henderson

AFT conventions for the past eleven years.

For the first time the overwhelming majority of Blacks and minority delegates played the key role in opposing Shanker's policy on busing and *Bakke*.

The pressure on Shanker became so great that his own Progressive Caucus had to abstain from taking an official position on busing and the *Bakke* decision to prevent a possible split.

The desegregation caucus sponsored three meetings at the convention. They drew the largest attendance that I've seen in years for any group proposing changes in AFT policy.

Our most impressive meeting was a panel discussion on busing. It included, among others, two AFT national vice-presidents—Bill Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union, and Nat LaCour, president of the United Teachers of New Orleans. More than 200 delegates attended this panel discussion.

During the convention several hundred delegates signed our busing resolution and joined the desegregation caucus.

The desegregation caucus, in cooperation with the Black Caucus, also played a key role in opposing the Shanker-backed resolution supporting the *Bakke* decision. We were able to defeat the Shanker resolution in committee, something virtually unheard of at an AFT convention.

While Shanker was able to mobilize enough votes in the general session to pass his resolution, 27 percent of the delegates voted against it, including virtually all the minority delegates and many of the younger white delegates.

Q. What are the plans of the caucus for future activity?

A. We plan to step up the fight for desegregation and equality in education. Specifically that means building support for busing and fighting to reverse the *Bakke* decision. These will be our two major areas of work.

The caucus was able to achieve a significant victory this summer when the California Federation of Teachers reaffirmed its full support for busing. The CFT set up a statewide committee of the union to assist all those locals that are going through the desegregation process.

We want to duplicate this in other areas so the union doesn't continue to play a neutral and even reactionary role on busing.

Members of the caucus also helped build support among teachers and students for the demonstrations to reverse the *Bakke* decision that occurred in a number of cities October 8.

These are the kinds of activities we will continue to carry out. By the time of the AFT convention next year in Washington, D.C., we will be even stronger than at the Boston convention, and we hope to reverse the scandalous national policies of the AFT on busing and *Bakke*.

Q. What response did the Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education receive at last August's AFT convention in Boston?

A. The response was the most significant that I have seen in attending

Calif. RUP sets election plans

By Nick Fuentes

VENTURA, Calif.—A state convention of La Raza Unida Party was held here September 3-4. Nearly 100 Chicano activists attended.

The California *partido* was formed seven years ago. Yet, as the outgoing state chairperson, Andrés Torres stated, the motivating idea of the RUP is just as valid today as it was then. Independent Chicano political action is the key to advancing the Chicano movement.

Although the convention delegates were unable to agree on all of the many recommendations that came out of the workshops, important campaigns were projected.

In the Goals and Objectives workshop, Andrés Torres proposed running a slate of candidates for statewide offices in the 1978 gubernatorial elections. The specific offices would be decided at future meetings.

Torres suggested that the RUP seek independent rather than party ballot status.

To qualify independent candidates for the state ballot requires obtaining the signatures of 100,000 voters on nominating petitions. For placing a party's name on the ballot the requirements are even more discriminatory. It can be done either by registering some 63,000 members in the party or by obtaining a half-million petition signatures.

In projecting the idea of shooting for independent status, Torres said he believes there is a legal basis for having "Raza Unida" placed alongside an independent nominee's name as a ballot designation. This possibility will be investigated.

Forming new RUP chapters across the state would go hand-in-hand with a petition drive. Projections were made to organize chapters in San Diego, San Bernardino, Fresno, Sacramento, and elsewhere. A statewide committee was set up to coordinate the effort.

Several years ago, the RUP set out to register enough people to win ballot status. As a consequence there are presently an estimated 15,000 people registered RUP in California. With these contacts alone, the basis exists for expanding the *partido*.

The convention voted to make *El Sembrador*, now the newspaper of the San Fernando chapter, the statewide organ of the RUP.

At a recent meeting, the state central committee of the *partido* had voted to endorse the Chicano/Latino antideportation conference slated for San Antonio October 28-30. The convention reaffirmed this decision and voted to send delegates to the conference.

The convention elected new state officers. These were:

Fred Aguilar, chairperson; Ruth Banda, vice chairperson; Gabino Serrano, recording secretary; Evangelina Pérez, treasurer; José Gonzales, state representative for Southern California; Rubén Botello, representative for Central California; and Arturo Vásquez, representative for Northern California.

Teachers Under Attack

By Jeff Mackler

- How can teachers organize effectively against massive educational cutbacks?
- Why should the AFT stop supporting Democrats and Republicans?
- Why have the present policies of both the NEA and AFT proved so inadequate in defending teachers' living standards?
- This pamphlet offers a program for teachers to defend public education.

32 pp., 50 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



An alternative to the "business unionism" of Albert Shanker
by Jeff Mackler

Key provisions deleted

Black lung reform passes House, Senate

By Nancy Cole

You're short-breathed. You cough up blood. You tire easily and often have to sleep sitting up.

You have pneumoconiosis, better known to its victims as black lung. It's a disabling respiratory disease caused by inhaling coal dust.

There's no cure for black lung. It kills.

Yet before 1969, there was no relief, no benefits for the thousands who suffered and died each year from black lung.

The 1969 Federal Health and Safety Act, the result of a campaign by miners and the Black Lung Association, changed that. For the first time black lung victims and their survivors could get modest payments, if they were judged eligible.

Complicated medical criteria, however, have meant that thousands of miners with black lung are rejected for benefits. The Labor Department has a backlog of some 50,000 black lung cases. It takes an average of two years to settle a claim.

So the battle by the United Mine Workers and the BLA began again. For several years now a reform black lung bill has been in the works.

The House approved a black lung bill September 19. The next day the Senate approved a different version. A House-Senate conference is now working on a compromise bill.

The coal industry predictably fought the legislation, and both bills show serious scars.

The new law would transfer responsibility for financing benefits from the government to the coal industry.

The goal of the bill is to make it easier for miners to qualify for and actually receive the benefits.

Provisions of the more liberal House



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter

bill considered improvements over the present setup include:

- Survivors of miners for whom there are no official records of the disease could produce affidavits in order to qualify.
- Regulations for claims filed after 1973 could not be harsher than those filed before.
- Survivors of miners who worked for at least seventeen years in an underground mine and died in a mine accident prior to 1971 would be eligible.
- Federal officials would have to review all claims previously denied.
- Miners would be allowed to collect black lung benefits plus other disability payments they're entitled to.
- Ten million dollars would be allocated each year for clinics and mobile units to treat and examine black lung patients.

The bill's sponsors in the House traded off other key provisions:

- Deleted is the section guaranteeing automatic benefits to miners and their survivors who worked twenty-five years in a soft-coal mine or thirty years in an anthracite mine.
- Gone too is the part prohibiting mine operators or the government from challenging black lung claims approved by administrative-law judges.
- Also dropped is a provision allowing working miners with black lung

to claim benefits, so that they don't have to quit to find out if they qualify.

The most vehement opposition was reserved for the automatic benefits provision.

The Carter administration, supposedly a friend of black lung reform, testified against automatic benefits.

Assistant Secretary of Labor Donald Elisburg also spoke out against eliminating the rereading of all X-rays that coalfield doctors have already pronounced those of black lung victims.

Elisburg also urged leaving the medical standards up to the Labor Department.

For leading congressional opponent Rep. John Erlenborn (R-Ill.), automatic benefits would have set "an horrendously bad precedent." He and others charged it would open the door for victims of other occupational diseases, such as those suffering from brown lung and asbestos.

Last year a bill with the automatic benefits provision intact passed the House by a 210-183 vote. It died because the Senate failed to act on it.

"Attitudes have changed and hardened," reported the Capitol Hill News Service, "and the spectre of dozens of occupational diseases clamoring for special treatment has scared away erstwhile supporters."

That specter must have become more haunting when a recent federal study revealed that one out of four American workers is exposed to a substance on the job that could lead to death or disease.

The idea that workers may demand the right to safe working conditions and to some money for the irreparable damage done to their health has big business and its friends on Capitol Hill worried.

'We forced management to take a step back'

By Ray Markey

In many unions across the country, particularly in public employee unions, we are beginning to hear more and more about productivity committees.

The boss, whether on the state, county, or municipal level, says such committees are necessary to make sure the public is getting a fair day's work for its tax dollar. New York City is a good example of what the bankers and capitalist politicians really mean.

Union talk

District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, recently negotiated a "no-cost contract." No cost for big business, but very costly for AFSCME members.

Its provisions included a wage freeze, deferral of one week's pay for each worker until he or she leaves the job, three weeks of vacation instead of four for new employees, and a 10 percent cut in starting pay.

What did we get in return? A cost-of-living increase to be paid for out of productivity savings.



Ray Markey is a member of the executive board of the New York Public Library Guild, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930.

That's where the productivity committees came in. They were to be set up in each area, with the union taking major responsibility for proposing and implementing cutbacks in the name of productivity. No cutbacks, no cost-of-living raises.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, sold this to the membership by insisting that everybody had to sacrifice to save the city from the "fiscal crisis."

We were also told the proposal really wouldn't hurt us very much because the union would propose management saving devices to make up for the money the politicians were demanding in cutbacks.

Both assertions proved to be false.

What's happening in New York City has nothing to do with "equality of sacrifice." The productivity committees are used to squeeze city workers and ram through speed-up measures.

But even more important, when unions voluntarily agree to such proposals, the effect is to embolden the bosses to intensify their attacks—to demand more.

That's what happened in my local—the Library Workers, Local 1930. The management of the New York Public Library decided that not enough had been given up in the city-wide agreement and refused to sign a contract unless we gave up more.

Management's demands were out of sight—an increase in the workweek, cut in sick and vacation days, and an end to provisions under which employees left early when the temperature-humidity index reached a given maximum level.

To get management to bargain we first had to organize a picket line of more than 500 at the Fifth Avenue main library.

When negotiations began, Local 1930's negotiating team, elected by the executive committee of the local, came under immense pressure from two sources.

The first, and most obvious, was management.

The second was the District Council 37 tops, who proposed that our negotiators give up more and more to show management we were "serious" and "reasonable."

But the more we gave up, the more management demanded.

Over the opposition of the local president and a majority of the executive board, an emergency membership meeting was called by petition. The membership told the president and the negotiating team to stiffen their backbones and go back and fight harder.

But the final agreement was so bad that four members of the negotiating team, including myself, issued a statement calling for a "no" vote. After a long and heated discussion, the membership voted the contract down 195 to 5.

The negotiating team went back, but returned with a package that was worse than the first. It was rejected again, by a vote of 115 to 64.

The membership then threw out the old negotiating team and elected a new one that included only two members of the old team, myself and a rank-and-file member who had fought the hardest against the package.

Management sensed the change in mood immediately. They tried to intimidate the new team by telling us they doubted they were dealing with trustworthy and reliable individuals. The team stood firm.

A contract settlement was finally hammered out and brought back to a membership meeting of more than 250, where only 9 voted against acceptance. The membership felt proud they had fought against management, the District Council 37 leadership and the president of their own local, and come back with a slightly better deal.

We didn't win a dramatically improved contract. That would have taken more than the isolated forces of Local 1930. But we reversed a process. We stopped retreating. And by fighting we forced management to take a step back.

France: 'Union of the Left' breaks up



CP leader Marchais and SP leader Mitterand before (left) and after break-up of electoral bloc with Left Radicals.

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

Only six months before the French legislative elections, with what appeared to be certain victory in sight, the electoral bloc of the Union of the Left parties broke up.

The split in the coalition began September 14, when the Left Radicals, the bourgeois component of the popular-front alliance, walked out of a summit meeting of the Union of the Left, proclaiming their determination to defend private enterprise from the "collectivist" claws of the Communist Party, cost what it might.

The open rupture in the Union of the Left was consummated on September 23-24, when the Socialist Party refused to accept the CP's demand that 479 companies employing under 150,000 workers be included on the list of those to be nationalized under a Union of the Left government.

The CP leaders had called for "updating" the Union of the Left program in order, they said, to revive the waning enthusiasm of the workers and mobilize them for the electoral struggle. But the result was the opposite of the CP's stated goal. It dashed the hopes of the workers for getting a government that would be responsive to their demands. The waning confidence it revived was that of the bourgeoisie.

Inexplicable defeat

For many months, the workers movement had been virtually in suspended animation, waiting for the seemingly certain installation of a Union of the Left government. Now the very parties that created these expectations had suddenly exploded.

The abrupt split in the Union of the Left was seen by the workers as an inexplicable defeat. The September 28 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* commented:

[The] workers have often taken the attacks of the bosses without fighting back, accepting changes in hours and layoffs in the hope that in six months' time they could settle accounts with the employers. So, a split in the Union of the Left is felt as a disaster.

Up until the suspension of negotiations among the Union of the Left parties on September 24, most commentators in the French press expected the contending parties to reach some sort of compromise.

Throughout the three weeks in which the split developed, reporter after reporter and commentator after commentator in *Le Monde*, France's politically most sophisticated bourgeois daily, pointed out how unessential the

differences between the CP and SP proposals were.

It was pointed out that the CP needed to adopt a more aggressive stance toward its allies and score some points for militancy. Since the formation of the Union of the Left, the CP had been experiencing an "identity crisis." The ranks could not see what the difference was between the proposals of their party and those of the SP.

Moreover, while the CP had paid a price for the Union of the Left, the SP was getting all the gravy. By reviving the SP's credibility as an electoral party, the popular-front alliance had rescued it from a moribund state. Then, the revived SP was able to project an all-inclusive image and to benefit from a lack of identification with Stalinist dogma. So, it zoomed way ahead of the CP in electoral support.

Likewise, the SP objections were thought to be tactically motivated. As the elections approached, it was expected that the SP would have a greater interest in proving its moderation to the bourgeoisie, since it would obviously be the largest party in a Union of the Left government.

Left Radicals

In the same way, the sudden intransigence of the Left Radicals was attributed to a desire simply to score some points. On its own, this fragment of the old liberal bourgeois party has very little weight. Inside the Union of the Left, it has considerable importance because it represents the liberal bourgeois forces that both the CP and SP leaders want to ally themselves with. It represents, moreover, a guarantee to the bourgeoisie that a Union of the Left government will remain within the bourgeois framework.

Before the breakdown of negotiations September 23-24, the CP had already reduced its list of additional nationalizations by half. Both the SP and CP pledged that under a Union of the Left government, the capitalist, market economy would be preserved.

It is not surprising that the split in the Union of the Left over the stated differences between the three parties was incomprehensible to the French people.

Ulterior motives?

In fact, the sudden torpedoing of an electoral alliance virtually assured of victory aroused extensive speculation in the press about ulterior motives on the part of the groups involved.

For example, in the September 25 *Le Monde*, André Fontaine argued that pressure from the Kremlin may have forced the CP to scuttle the Union of

the Left. He explained that the Soviet diplomatic representatives in Paris had long made no secret of their opinion that the best alternative for Soviet interests was a French bourgeois government that would take a more independent stance toward Washington.

Other commentators speculated that the CP wanted to pull back from a Union of the Left victory in order to sabotage the SP. That is, the SP has grown rapidly by attracting disparate elements that could be held together only by the perspective of a rapid electoral victory. Thus, if such a victory were deferred, the SP would begin to come apart.

On the other hand, some commentators speculated that the SP might have decided to call the CP's bluff because, with the demise of the Union of the Left, it would emerge as the only alternative to the present government and might get a big enough plurality to form a minority government.

Don't stand up

One thing is certain, and seems generally accepted, the explanations given for the rupture by the Union of the Left parties themselves do not stand up under scrutiny.

It is possible that the SP leadership entertains the idea of an SP minority government.

But an SP minority government or alliance with "liberal" Gaullists would be a risky proposition. In the first place, taking this course would mean exchanging certain victory for an uncertain chance of a bigger SP vote. Secondly, even if the SP were successful, this would mean leaving the opposition to the CP during a period of economic decline. The French Social Democrats have seen the Italian SP cut to pieces by the CP in a similar situation.

The theory that the Kremlin forced the French CP to torpedo the Union of the Left also overlooks the fact that the party leadership has shown in the past year and a half that it is capable of clashing rather sharply with the Kremlin when it thinks its electoral interests are at stake.

In all the speculation in the French press, one fairly obvious explanation for the crisis of the Union of the Left seems to have gone unnoticed. It is one that would be damaging to the pretenses of both the bourgeois and reformist forces, and a rude shock to the illusions of the petty-bourgeois supporters of the popular-front alliance. It may be that the bourgeoisie simply let the Union of the Left parties know in sufficiently forceful terms that it did not think the time was right to

hand the government over to them.

The tensions in French society had been increasing in anticipation of a Union of the Left victory. A flight of capital had already been in progress for some time. It was obvious that the workers and poor masses were just waiting for a Union of the Left victory to start pressing their demands.

Thus, if the Union of the Left formed a government after March, it could touch off a mass upsurge that neither of the main parties in the bloc nor the bourgeoisie wants. The reformists seek the approval of the bourgeoisie on the basis of being the last hope for holding back the masses, short of direct confrontation. If a popular-front government threatens to promote struggles rather than contain them, the reformists lose their selling point to the bourgeoisie.

Danger of division

However, in trying to retreat from the prospects of a Union of the Left victory at the polls, the CP and SP will run the risk of losing control over sections of the working class. It is impossible to predict how extensive or long-lasting a demoralization may be caused by the split in the Union of the Left. But it is likely that sections of the working class will decide that they have to start fighting again for their demands, without waiting any more for elections.

In a statement published in the September 26 issue of *Rouge*, the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International) appealed to the workers organizations not to let a breakdown of the Union of the Left divide the workers in their struggles:

Let assemblies be called in all the plants where all the unions and workers parties can explain their positions. After a democratic debate, the workers should be consulted and the CP and SP should agree to respect their decisions regarding the issue of nationalizations but also the minimum wage, the hierarchy in the plant, working conditions, jobs, and the army. . . .

The unity the workers need is not with some section of the bourgeoisie; it is unity with the workers themselves, the unity of their organizations behind their demands, behind an offensive to drive Giscard and Barre [the premier] from office.

A split in the working class will not only mean that the right will win the elections but the Barre plan [austerity] will be applied to the fullest and repression by the bosses will be stepped up. . . .

We call on the SP and CP activists to join in forming united committees in the plants and neighborhoods open to all workers who agree on the need to oust the Giscard-Barre government and who want to discuss the program of an SP-CP government to meet the aspirations of the workers.

What happened at China's 11th Congress?

By Les Evans
From Intercontinental Press

The Eleventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), held in Peking August 12 to 18, contained few surprises. It did offer a hint of the lineup in the post-Mao leadership and the extent of the purge of Mao's personal faction, which has not by any means been limited to the "gang of four."

After almost thirty years in power, the CCP still conducts its deliberations as though it were a persecuted opposition—in complete secrecy. The Chinese people discovered that their ruling party was holding a congress only after it was over, when the announcement was released to the press on August 20. There was, as usual, no publication beforehand of any documents that could provide a basis for discussion by the party's thirty-five million nominal members.

The new congress had a limited agenda: a political report, which took the form of a four-hour speech by party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng; the adoption of a new party constitution, reported on by 79-year-old Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying; the election of a new Central Committee and Politburo; and a brief closing address by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng had just been rehabilitated in July, having been purged by Mao as an "unrepentant capitalist roader" in April of 1976 in one of Mao's last official acts.

Repudiation of Mao

The press communiqué issued by the government news agency, Hsinhua, on August 20 said that Hua had stressed in his report that "Mao Tsetung Thought is a new acquisition enrich-

ing the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory and is Chairman Mao's most precious legacy to our era."

The summary of Hua's speech which appeared on August 22, however, was a repudiation of virtually all of the specific campaigns initiated by Mao in the last ten years of his life. Hua declared that the Cultural Revolution had come to a "triumphant conclusion"—with the arrest of the "gang of four," who with Mao had been its principal leaders!

He added that "this has ushered in a new period of development in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Now we are able to achieve stability and unity and attain great order across the land in compliance with Chairman Mao's instructions."

What Hua here calls Mao's "instructions" are, of course, nothing of the sort. As everyone in China recalls, when Mao denounced Teng Hsiao-p'ing as a "representative of the bourgeoisie" in April 1976, it was because Teng allegedly failed to make "class struggle" the "key link" ahead of "stability and unity."

In Maoist jargon this dispute concerned real policy differences within the ruling bureaucracy over the relative priority of economic construction versus indoctrination campaigns to "remold" loyal Maoists. The essence of "Mao Tsetung Thought," insofar as it differed at all from Soviet-style Stalinism, lay in Mao's novel insistence on the "human factor," i.e., the importance of using the party apparatus to generate massive social pressure for ideological conformity.

Extreme anti-intellectualism

This went hand-in-hand with the most extreme anti-intellectualism, a disregard for the most elementary requirements of teaching science and technology, a blatant xenophobia, and a cultural and political monolithic that threatened to disrupt the economy.

At the end of Mao's reign the CCP found itself dominated by ignorant sycophants of the chairman, with an economy in deep trouble and a population more and more restive under the lash of bureaucratic abuse. Small wonder that Hua now promises "stability and unity," choosing his words deliberately as a rejection of Mao's disastrous "class struggle" against independent-minded workers and peasants.

Speaking of the previous government, Hua said that the "gang of four"—Mao's wife, Chiang Ch'ing, and three other senior Maoist members of the Politburo—"repressed and stifled the revolutionary enthusiasm of the mass of intellectuals."

As for the campaigns of recent years,



New central committee elected at eleventh congress of Chinese Communist Party

Hua said that the movement to "criticize Lin Piao and Confucius" had been "wrecked," the thousands of articles devoted to criticizing the novel *Water Margin* had been a "vicious propaganda drive" to split the Central Committee, and that the purge of Teng Hsiao-p'ing was based on "false charges."

Hua insisted that it was "upon the personal proposal of Chairman Mao and its adoption by the Political Bureau" on April 7 of last year that he, Hua, had been named first vice-chairman of the Central Committee. Hua tactfully refrained from mentioning the other half of Mao's "personal proposal" at that Politburo meeting, which was to strip Teng Hsiao-p'ing of all his government and party posts.

Production down

These obvious slips are deliberate. They constitute an attack on Mao's prestige that stops short of direct public criticism of the late leader. The reasons for the attack are not hard to find. In April, Li Chiang, China's foreign trade minister, told a group of Japanese businessmen that China's coal production had fallen by twenty-five million tons in 1976 as a result of natural disasters and "sabotage" by the "gang of four." Steel production is also reportedly down by some 10 to 15 percent. And there is a food shortage on top of the setbacks in industrial production. On May 6, the Hong Kong *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported:

"Recent wallposters in Shanghai . . . have protested against the size of the rations of rice and cooking oil, and similar manifestations have been noted in Canton."

The new government has been on a

campaign footing to increase production, put a halt to indoctrination campaigns that disrupt work, import more foreign technology, and revive scientific education, which had nearly collapsed under Mao. (The September 1977 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* reports that Chou Jung-hsin, the minister of education hounded from office last year, "concluded, after investigation, that university standards in 1975 were no higher than those of technical middle schools before the Cultural Revolution.")

The new leadership's concern with industrial productivity and economic growth are so paramount as to be written into the new party constitution, much as Lin Piao's aspirations to rulership were written in eight years ago. The plans for achieving this desirable goal are more shadowy, however.

Western music can now be heard on Chinese radio for the first time in a decade. Foreign trade is welcomed and the slogan of "self-reliance" is seldom heard. But in essence the new leadership—which is not synonymous with a younger leadership—has nothing with which to replace "Maoism" except variants of the same thing.

They are still committed to a narrow nationalistic prospect of trying to construct an advanced industrial economy within the borders of backward China with whatever aid can be secured from imperialism in exchange for collaboration against foreign socialist revolutions. But technical professionalism alone will not lift China to the level of Japan or assuage the discontent of the Chinese masses under the arbitrary rule of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

Leadership changes

While these problems were not openly discussed at Hua's handpicked congress, concern over them was reflected in the leadership changes that took place there. In China the actual power is centered not in the congress, nor even in the Central Committee, but in the Politburo and its elite Standing Committee.

Some Western reporters noted the high degree of continuity from the remaining members of the Tenth Politburo to the Eleventh, which is in contrast to an extensive new purge of the Central Committee itself, revealed for the first time in the list published after the Eleventh Congress. This appearance of continuity is misleading, since the purge in this important body was carried out long ago, right after the death of Mao. The decimation of Mao's faction in the Politburo can be seen in the contrast between the number of them included in the full Politburo of 1973 and those who were still on hand to stand for reelection in 1977.



HUA: 'legitimizes' his hold



TENG: 'rehabilitated'

On the eve of the Eleventh Congress, of the five vice-chairmen elected at the Tenth Congress, only two remained—Yeh Chien-ying, and Li Te-sheng, the military commander of Manchuria and a former hard Maoist. Of these, Li was dropped from his vice-chairmanship by the new congress.

Of the nine members of the Politburo Standing Committee elected in 1973, only two remained in 1977; again, Yeh and Li. (Chairman Hua was not considered important enough in 1973 to be elected to the Standing Committee.)

Only twelve of the twenty-two members of the full Politburo were still around by August 1977, the rest either dead of old age or under arrest.

The situation in the 195-member Central Committee (enlarged by the August congress to 201) was quite different. The list published by Hsin-hua on August 20 was the first indication of who had survived the purge of the Mao faction. No fewer than 85 of the 195 CC members elected in 1973 were dropped. Allowing for the six known deaths among these, that still comes to about 40 percent of the party leadership.

'Model workers'

Those dropped were overwhelmingly the relatively young representatives of "mass organizations" used by Mao in the Cultural Revolution as a cudgel to beat the veteran bureaucracy into line. Their replacements are the same aged administrators Mao accused of "capitalist restorationism" in 1966.

This move should not be misunderstood as having anything to do with making the new CC less—or more—democratic or representative. It is true that most of Mao's model workers and peasants have been dropped from the committee. But it would be mistaken to equate them with actual representatives of the masses. Their elevation at the party congresses in 1969 and 1973 was tied to the rise of the Mao cult and its peculiar adaptation of reactionary Chinese ruling-class traditions to the administration of the Chinese workers state. They were chosen for their personal loyalty to the chairman, not to the masses they ostensibly represented.

Moreover, like the so-called gang of four, who epitomized this faction in the party, the "model workers and peasants" were among the most ignorant zealots of the bureaucracy.

It is not surprising, then, that Mao's faction has been swept away by the remainder of the bureaucracy. The significant point is that these functionaries have nothing to offer as substitutes but their own aging corps of survivors of the Cultural Revolution. The average age of the new twenty-three-member Politburo is sixty-eight,

which makes it about the oldest party leadership anywhere in the world.

The "new" faces on the Politburo include such figures as Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, 75, and Nieh Jung-chen, 78, head of the Academy of Sciences Fang I, 68; foreign trade expert Keng Piao, 68; Yu Ch'iu-li, 63, head of the national planning commission; and Su Chen-hua, 68, an admiral purged by Mao in 1966 who is now in charge of cleaning Mao's appointees out of their former stronghold in Shanghai. The youngest member of the new Politburo, and the only one under 50, is Ni Chih-fu, 44, a specialist in questions of public order and former head of the Peking militia, who is now in Shanghai reorganizing the militia there.

'Half of heaven'

In the official rankings, the holdovers from the previous committee retain the top posts. Hua Kuo-feng succeeded at this congress in "legitimizing" his hold on the chairmanship, which until now rested on a scribbled note by Mao in which the dying chairman said that he was "at ease" with Hua taking care of some provincial problems. The four vice-chairmen are Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, economic planner Li Hsien-nien, and Wang Tung-hsing, the commander of the leadership's private bodyguard troops and director of the General Office of the Central Committee.

Among the most prominent of the remaining members reelected to the Politburo are Ch'en Hsi-lien, commander of the Peking military region, and Wu Te, the capital's mayor; and in Canton, party secretary Wei Kuoch'ing and Kwangtung military commander Hsu Shih-yu.

The composition is clear. The "new" leadership consists of aged military men, technicians, police, city administrators, foreign-trade experts, economists, and planners.

Mao was fond of saying that in China, women held up half of heaven. His successors have not lived up to his saying in dispensing the posts of power on earth. Not one single woman is included in the twenty-three-member Politburo. In the Central Committee, the twenty who were elected in 1973 were cut back to fourteen out of 201, or 7 percent.

The elderly technocrats and generals who are now in the saddle face the same political and social problems as did Mao. Whatever immediate improvements they are able to achieve by more rational methods of industrial organization will soon be vitiated by their insistence on China's national isolation, hostility to socialist revolution elsewhere, and zealous guarding of the highly privileged and even luxurious living standards of the ruling bureaucratic caste.



EDUCATION UNDER MAO: Peking university professors building dikes. The new government is on a campaign to reverse the extreme anti-intellectualism of the Maoists, whose policies led to the near-collapse of scientific education.

World news notes

Carter signs (part of) human rights accord

On October 5 President Carter signed two eleven-year-old United Nations pacts on human rights guaranteeing civil liberties and the right to adequate economic and social rights. One pact recognizes the right of all people to a job, fair wages, adequate health care, and education. Carter declined to sign an optional section of the pacts that would have enabled a human rights committee to evaluate complaints from U.S. citizens. No doubt the committee would have been kept busy hearing complaints from this country's Blacks, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, women, gays, and other working people.

House arrests prevent Jewish protest in USSR

About twenty Jews who were previously denied permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union have been placed under house arrest. The twenty had wanted to take their cases to the Supreme Soviet, the handpicked national legislature that is meeting in Moscow. But the Jewish activists were prevented by guards stationed outside their apartments.

The Supreme Soviet was discussing and approving the USSR's new constitution.

U.S. monopoly on atomic fuel in trouble

In the first week of October, Japan signed an agreement to have its spent nuclear fuel reprocessed into plutonium by a French plant. The agreement is another blow to President Carter's efforts to maintain a U.S. monopoly on atomic fuel. According to the *New York Times*, French officials answer Carter's claim that the United States can meet the growing market for uranium by pointing out that "there is great uncertainty that the United States will be able to expand its uranium enrichment capacity in the face of mounting public disenchanted with nuclear energy. Australia, the other great source of uranium with about 20 percent of the Western world's deposits, has been having a bitter public debate over whether or not to exploit its ore."

Israel sets up six new bases in occupied West Bank

On October 10 the Israeli government announced approval for six new Zionist settlements in the Arab territory occupied during the 1967 war. The settlers—members of the fanatical right-wing Gush Emunim religious sect—will officially be "employed on a mission on behalf of the army."

Leader of Irish Republican Socialist Party slain

On October 5 assassins in Dublin using a shotgun at point-blank range murdered Seamus Costello, leader of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. The IRSP was formed in 1972 after breaking with the Irish Republican Army's Official wing. Several bourgeois newspapers have labeled the murder the work of "a bloody ideological feud" between Irish freedom fighters. But the IRSP charges that the killing was done by a special undercover unit of the British Army.



SEAMUS COSTELLO

S. Africa curbs press for truth on Biko murder

On October 7 the South African government called an emergency meeting of that country's press council to get a ruling against the *Rand Daily Mail* for "tendentious reporting" on the death of young Black leader Steven Biko. The government was angered when the newspaper published doctors' reports that Biko, who died while in police custody in September, was killed by a severe beating. Justice Minister James Kruger had claimed that Biko died from a one-week hunger strike.

Meanwhile, a month after Biko's murder, the government has not finished its autopsy report and is hinting that an inquest may be canceled.

Nobel Peace Prize: two strikes . . .

Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, leaders of the so-called women's peace movement in Northern Ireland, have won the 1976 Nobel Peace Prize. The award was made a year late because the two women began their campaign after the formal deadline for nominations in 1976.

Corrigan and Williams say they oppose the violence of both Catholic and Protestant militants. But their movement has ignored the real source of violence in Northern Ireland—the 15,000 British troops stationed there to defend Britain's colonial domination of the area. When British troops killed a thirteen-year-old Catholic last year the women refused to protest.

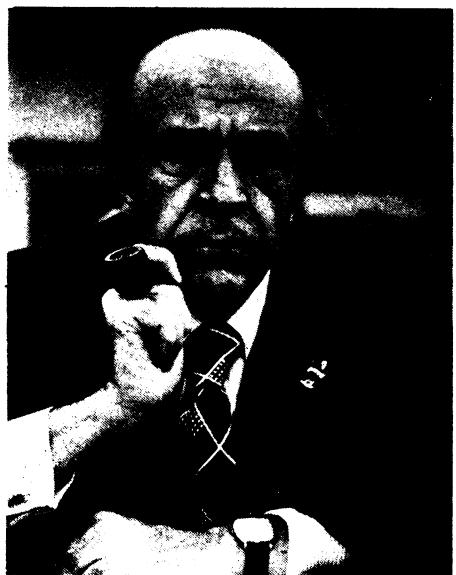
Nobel Peace Prize: . . . and a hit

The 1977 Nobel Peace Prize went to Amnesty International. For sixteen years Amnesty International has issued exposés and petitioned for the release of political prisoners around the world—in the United States, Brazil, Chile, Iran, Indonesia, Israel, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, South Africa, and other countries.

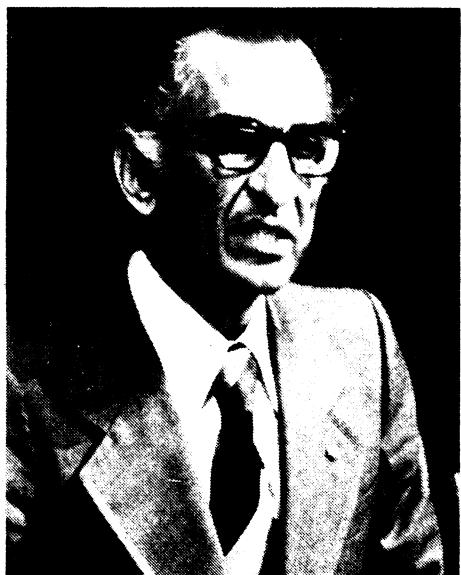
Belgrade conference opens to weigh Helsinki pact

Representatives of thirty-five countries began meeting in Belgrade October 4 to review the pact on European cooperation signed in Helsinki, Finland, in 1975. The Helsinki pact called on signers to guarantee human rights. The Carter administration is eager to play up the violation of civil and other human rights in the Soviet Union in order to cover up Washington's own record of political repression and denial of fundamental social and economic rights to American working people.

New prime minister appointed in Iran to calm discontent



HOVEYDA: Gets the axe



AMOUZEGAR: New face, old policies

By Ali Golestan
From Intercontinental Press

Iran's Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda, who resigned August 6 after almost thirteen years in office, was replaced the following day by Jamshid Amouzegar. Amouzegar was the chief OPEC negotiator for Iran and minister of oil in the shah's cabinet before his present appointment.

No specific reason was given by Iranian officials for this change in the administration. It was perhaps intended as a sop to a discontented populace.

Under Hoveyda, Iran's electricity network broke down. Power shortages during the summer paralyzed plants, hospitals, government offices, cold storage facilities, etc.

After the first breakdown, the government decided to schedule daily blackouts of up to five hours for various parts of the country. This situation continued for more than three months, with total breakdowns occurring frequently. Not until September 3 did the government announce a possible end to the blackouts for Tehran. The end, however, still remains only "possible." Many plants and hospitals have installed their own generators.

'Western technology' blamed

Both Hoveyda and Amouzegar have blamed various persons and "Western technology" for the failures. The shah, in a speech commemorating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the 1953 coup that restored him to power, blamed individual incompetence for the failures.

Another major problem has been a leap in housing shortages and a huge increase in construction costs in Tehran. A reporter in the Tehran daily *Kayhan* noted that with the money needed to obtain an average house in Tehran, one can live luxuriously in Southern California.

Changes in the mortgage rate or permitting construction in previously forbidden zones have failed to alleviate the problem. The present housing shortage followed a long period of speculation based on spiraling land prices.

A member of the parliament, quoted

in the August 25 issue of *Etele'at*, asserted that the price of land has increased by an average of 2,000 percent in the last decade in Tehran. This amounts to an average yearly increase of 200 percent.

Coupled with this is a shortage of construction materials, notably cement. This factor alone caused both a price increase in housing and a slowdown in construction.

Shortages & corruption

Other problems marked Hoveyda's years in office: a shortage in food items, in particular meat and dairy products; mounting bureaucratism and corruption to such an extent that bribery is almost a requisite to get anything done; and, of course, rampant inflation.

On top of all this, Iran has suffered for twenty-four years under the oppressive rule of the shah. The crowned cannibal gained power through a CIA-engineered coup in 1953 that overthrew the government of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh.

Ever since then the masses have lived in a nightmare of terror. Immediately after the coup, thousands of persons were either executed or killed under torture. Then in 1957, SAVAK, the dreaded secret police, was created with the aid of the CIA and the Israeli secret police. Together with the military forces, SAVAK has been able to maintain the dictatorship by using violence and terrorism against political dissidents.

At present the number of political prisoners is estimated to be in the neighborhood of 100,000. Torture has been used routinely to either make the prisoners "confess" or to break them down to praise the shah on television or in the newspapers.

According to government figures, more than 400 persons have either been executed or shot on the streets in the past five years.

Rising protest

Today protest is rising. As has been reported in *Intercontinental Press*, Iranian writers, poets, translators, research specialists, and critics have recently written two protest letters to the government demanding the right

to organize, to publish, and to meet regularly without censorship or harassment from the government officials.

In another move, a group of about sixty Iranian lawyers wrote two letters this summer to the shah's office in Tehran. In their first letter, these lawyers protested the passage of a law that violates the constitution.

In their second letter, July 31, they listed four demands:

1. That the laws on the functioning of the judiciary be respected, and the independence of the courts be assured.

2. That the executive power stay within "the powers given to it by the constitution and that it be responsible to the legislative power."

3. That "the legislative power be elected free of fear of harassment by the executive power."

4. That the democratic rights of "the Iranian people, in particular freedom of speech, freedom to write, and freedom of association, be respected."

Many others have also written letters of protest to the government. The most famous of these personalities is the Iranian writer Ali Asghar Hadj-Seyed-Javadi. In fact, he was one of the first to start the protest campaign more than a year ago. In his last letter, written in July, he lodged an "indictment on behalf of the Iranian people against Hoveyda." He charged Hoveyda and his administration with the following crimes:

1. That he violated the constitution by "granting to the monarchy powers given to the ministers and the government in the constitution."

2. That SAVAK is "part of the organization of the prime minister," and that it has served as an "instrument of repression, terror, and torture against the Iranian people." Therefore, Hoveyda and his ministers are "responsible for all the crimes, torture, interrogations, and illegal arrests committed by SAVAK. . . ."

3. That ". . . Mr. Hoveyda and his administration have stripped the Iranian people of their right to participate in associations, political parties, and genuine trade unions."

He went on to protest other hardships such as inflation and the housing shortage. In this regard, he said: "You blame the 'weak Western technology' and industry for the breakdown of the power generators causing blackouts in the scorching heat of the summer. Yet it is the Westerners who

land a man on the moon, and sell you the most sophisticated arms. . . . And as long as the West supports you with its dollars and its intelligence organizations, you will continue to give the West the entire wealth belonging to the Iranian people and all their rights and freedoms."

This mood of protest is also reflected in the newspapers of Iran where various individuals have taken up such issues as censorship of books and movies and asked that it be ended.

Effect of int'l pressure

The government has not yet cracked down on the protesters. In fact it has released some 340 political prisoners in a much publicized move and it has relaxed some of the censorship laws.

Such a concession could have been predicted, since the Iranian government had hinted earlier at a change in policy in response to criticisms directed against it from abroad. In fact the inability of the government to suppress the protests seems to be a direct result of the international campaign against repression in Iran. This has also been noted and appreciated by those fighting the repressive system inside Iran.

It is against this background that the shift in prime ministers took place. Internal, as well as international pressures had reached such a level that a new administration with new promises was required. The new prime minister has done very little so far and in fact seems incapable of solving any of the problems that he inherited from Hoveyda. Power shortages, high prices, an acute shortage of housing, scarcity of some food items, and repression still persist.

Concession to capitalists

In announcing the policies of his administration to the parliament, Amouzegar introduced nothing new. No reduction in the purchase of arms, no change in foreign policy, etc., as "these policies are determined by His Imperial Majesty."

There is, however, one shift in policy, and that is to keep the Iranian capitalists more satisfied by a promise to better integrate them on the governmental level and grant them a bigger share of the sector of industry now controlled by the government. To show his good will, Amouzegar appointed Kazem Khosrow Shahi, one of the richest Iranian capitalists, as the minister of trade.

Opponents of shah praise int'l defense campaign

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) has been in the forefront of the international campaign against the shah's repressive regime. In the September issue of *Payam Daneshjoo* (Student's Correspondence), a magazine published in New York, a statement by a number of intellectuals in Iran belonging to the "Group for the Freedom of Books and Thought" took note of the effectiveness of this campaign. It says:

"First of all, we think it is necessary to send greetings on the broadest scale to the 'Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran,' and its conscious activists whose extended activities have been widely reflected inside Iran. While it has given hope to those who seek freedom, it has at the same time aroused fear in the institutions of terror and repression in Iran and has forced them to react."

Referring to attempts by various Maoist groups to disrupt CAIFI meetings, the statement says: "We hear with great regret and sorrow that some individuals and groups, who are themselves against the regime, disrupt meetings organized against repression in Iran. . . . We request that all antiregime forces and organizations, while holding to their ideological positions, do not neglect to cooperate with 'the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran' whose activities have borne such fruitful results and have resulted in such great hopes."

Those wishing to get material from CAIFI, request speakers, or send donations can contact it at:

CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003;
(212) 673-6390.

Two views of an aging champ

The "Acorn" was a tough nut to crack. The "Acorn" was the name Muhammad Ali gave to bald-pated Earnie Shavers, the latest challenger for his heavyweight crown.

Shavers is a nice enough guy, and is supposed to have one of those right hands boxing writers call "lethal." He unloaded it several times on Ali's jaw September 29. But Ali takes a punch better than

Sports

any heavyweight ever did. Bruised and tired, he dug down deep into his bag of tricks and pulled out victory again.

The fact is, Earnie Shavers's jaw doubles as a chandelier, and such famous types as Ron Stander and Stan Johnson have stood him on his ear. His record as a KO artist was compiled at the expense of scores of second-rate boxers.

The real story of the fight was the steady, sad decline of Muhammad Ali, the man bigger than the sport he reigns. It is not only the story of aging, but the passing of an age.

The once lean, fleet-fisted boxer is heavy around the waist, and his flesh ripples over his trunks when he weaves away from a blow. He can still snap out a jab, but it is spunkless. The once-powerful right is stolidly soft, good for scoring junk points off a target like Earnie Shavers's shiny dome, but not for stopping relentless pursuit.

Once in a while he floats like a butterfly. But he cannot sting like a bee anymore.

Ali's ring dominance is based on the fact that he still has just enough to get by, is still the smartest heavyweight around. The quality of the competition just makes it that much easier.

Ali's face looks worn, his clowning is painful to watch, and when it was clear that Shavers really was going to test him, I got the nervous, tight feeling I hadn't had since Ali met the mean Sonny Liston thirteen years ago for the championship. Everybody was a lot younger then, and I thought Liston was going to kill the loudmouth wonder then called Cassius Clay.

The erosion of skill is obvious, inevitable, and tragic when the machine keeps going on fumes instead of gas.

But sadder still is the erosion of Ali, the man and the symbol.

The time was when he shouted his rebellion from rooftops. His character was forged by the experience of a generation in struggle. Against a racist war abroad, against racism at home. Ali defied the draft board. Sided with the Vietnamese. Shook hands with Palestinians and loudly opposed Zionism. He was against white, white hopes, and against Blacks who "stayed in their place."

Ali was not a politician, but a hero who identified with and symbolized the angry, surging pride of Black youth. His stand against Washington's war in Vietnam and the draft inspired a generation of young rebels, not only in the United States, but around the world.

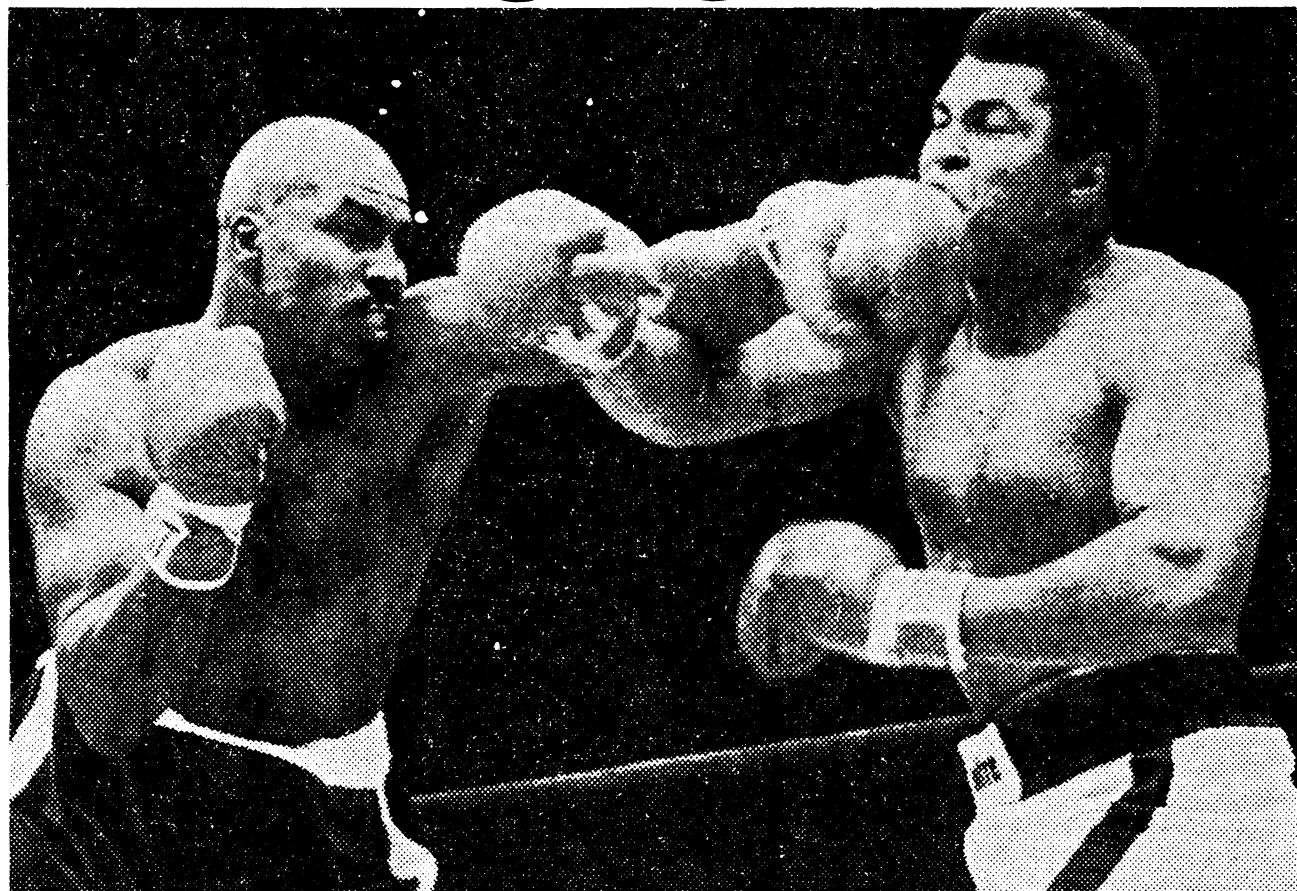
So now we see him with a Gino's cheeseburger, which he says is almost as great as he is. His movie *The Greatest* is pleasant, but he plays himself as a religious fellow who boxes good and went through some changes back then. All very tame and cleaned up. He is a celebrity, whispering in Jimmy Carter's ear after campaigning for Gerald Ford.

He is an old man's imitation of himself.

This erosion is inevitable, too, and in that sense beyond Ali's control. His molding by events a decade ago expressed itself one way and today, in a different time, another.

The thing is, you want him to go out the champ. Because of what he was, what he did—inside and outside the ring. Because he fought great fights against boxers. And better ones against the government.

The pretenders to his throne are just that. Ken Norton of the glass jaw, awful awkwardness, and "Mandingo" movies. Jimmy Young, the punchless wonder. The great white hopeless, Duane Bobick. The unretired has-been, Jerry Quarry. And they get



Muhammad Ali (right) battles Earnie Shavers for heavyweight championship September 29

worse. To get beaten by one of these excuses just isn't the way to leave.

So Ali wins again. Much sooner than later some hungry talent with a handful of smarts and more power than the aging champ is going to lay Ali out. It is going to hurt to see that.

Retirement is better than a wake. And the only way to go out the greatest. —**Jon Hillson**

to disavow his beliefs.

But in the eyes of boxing promoters Ali had bent the stick too far. When pressed on how he felt about being drafted into the army, he delivered his most famous rhyme:

*Keep asking me, no matter how long
On the war in Vietnam, I sing this song
I ain't got no quarrel with the Viet Cong. . . .*

The Greatest: My Own Story by Muhammad Ali with Richard Durham. Published by Random House, 1975. 415 pages, \$10.95 cloth; \$1.95 paperback.

Whether or not you like boxing, you couldn't help but notice the attention given Muhammad Ali after his latest victory. The front-page headline of the September 30 *New York Post* blared, "Garden Post

Books

Tells Ali: Quit." Article after article carried on about how Ali should step aside, how he's too old to fight, and how for his own interest and the sake of boxing he should retire.

This "concern" for Ali is a little hard to stomach. As Ali points out in his autobiography, *The Greatest*, professional boxing and racist America have been trying to get rid of him for a long time. The problem for them is that he just keeps winning.

Ali describes his early life in segregated Louisville and, at the age of eighteen, winning the Olympic Championship. But soon after that victory he received his first introduction to the reality of American professional sports.

Needing financial backing, Ali signed with the Louisville Sponsoring Group or, as he later was to call them, "my White Southern Christian Millionaire Sponsors." Their financial backing of only \$10,000 over a six-year period got them a 50 percent take of all of Ali's earnings.

But just as important to them, Ali says, it allowed them to come to their "ringside seat, wave a cigar, or nudge an associate or girl friend as though saying, 'There's our horse.'"

The "horse" was soon to become heavyweight champion, only to have his Muslim faith and association with Malcolm X challenged. Despite the constant threat of his career being ended, he refused

He had taken a stand against the war, refused induction, and was therefore stripped of his boxing title for more than four years.

Only a unanimous decision by the U.S. Supreme Court reversing the decision that denied his military deferment allowed Ali back in the ring. That, and the fact that the boxing rich saw that they too could make some money off Ali.

Since that time Ali has regained his title. But the press, promoters, and capitalist America have never been satisfied with him. Ali explains, the "resentment whites have had over a Black World Heavyweight Champion—the real 'Mr. America' spot—and a champion who was bold and arrogant and who broke all the taboos white racists held sacred," didn't fit in the boxing world. Just like Jack Johnson was before him, Ali has been the target of continuous racist abuse and attempts to make him look less than the champion he is. All these have failed.

Ali doesn't owe these promoters or boxing a thing. As this book clearly shows, the boxing promoters have never had the interest of Black boxers in mind. Black boxers were never allowed a shot at the championship title in the early years of professional boxing, with the excuse that there could be "riots," no doubt by white racists. But as they saw the value of using Black fighters for sell-out crowds, this changed.

Ali has done it without them and in spite of them. He's attracted the crowds and support of millions of people, not only for his athletic ability, but also for the stand he has taken and the identification that people have with him.

This isn't any ordinary sports book with the usual "big play" or "big game" that so many of them are. It depicts quite vividly the racist and reactionary character of professional boxing and big-time sports in general. It's a story of one of the world's finest athletes and his fight for religious and political freedom. Whether he wins or loses inside the ring, in my opinion, he's still one of the greatest.

—**Kirk Fowler**

Notables sign fund appeal

By Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO—A group of noted public figures has issued a fund appeal for the National Conference on Immigration and Public Policy. Among the signers are Ossie Davis, Dick Gregory, Eugene McCarthy, journalist Carey McWilliams, Benjamin Spock, and Gloria Steinem.

The appeal to help defray the substantial costs of the conference is being sent to some 15,000 supporters of progressive causes. The letter deals with the victimization of undocumented immigrants and explains that the conference will provide the means to respond to President Carter's anti-immigrant legislative package.

Other signers of the fund appeal are: Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar*; Rubén Bonilla, director, Texas League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); Anne Braden, longtime civil rights fighter; Margo Cowan, director Tucson Manzo Area Council; Bernardo Eureste, mayor pro tem of San Antonio; Rev. Patricio Flores, Bishop, Catholic church San Antonio; Robert and Michael Meeropol, sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; Patrick Gorman, chairman of board, Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez; Rev. Lydio Tomasi, editor of *Immigration Today*.



GLORIA STEINEM: Backs conference on human rights for immigrants.

...attend

Continued from back page

discuss and act on resolutions and position papers coming from the workshops.

Meanwhile, the committee announced significant new figures and organizations are joining the now more than 400 endorsers of the conference.

Among these are Ricardo Potter, who will attend the conference for the National Council of Churches; Trinidad Lopez, president of the Mexican-American Labor Council; Gloria Gutiérrez of the Los Angeles-based Chicana Service Action Center; Michael Mora, cochairperson of the Skyhorse/Mohawk defense committee; attorney William Kunstler; Harvard Professor Verne Countryman, a noted constitutional authority; Rabbi Balfour Brickner of New York; and writer Nat Hentoff.

Additional organizations endorsing the conference include Women for Racial and Economic Equality and Las Hermanas, an organization of socially involved Latina nuns.

The facts on red-baiting of Chicano/Latino conference

By Pedro Camejo

SAN DIEGO—A red-baiting offensive against the national Chicano/Latino conference and the Socialist Workers Party is being conducted here. The smear campaign is spearheaded by Herman Baca, chairperson of the Committee on Chicano Rights and by the weekly *La Prensa San Diego*.

Since last summer, Baca and *La Prensa* have been actively discouraging participation in or support to the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy. The conference is backed by some 400 groups and prominent individuals.

Baca and *La Prensa* recently escalated their campaign. On September 27 Baca held a meeting here devoted exclusively to denouncing the socialists and the conference. The September 29 *La Prensa* ran an extensive report on the meeting under the sensationalistic front-page banner headline, "Chicanos Expel Socialist Workers Party."

The article promises that a "declaration" discussed at the meeting "will be sent to all Chicano organizations nationwide, to the media, and to the SWP/YSA." (The Young Socialist Alliance—YSA—is a youth organization that shares the political outlook of the SWP.)

The charges

In *La Prensa*'s coverage, many slanderous charges are made against the conference and the SWP. The central accusation is summarized in the July 22 editorial that launched the campaign: "The Angel Gutiérrez 'Call for Action' has been co-opted by the socialist party." (The reference is to the statement issued by Zavala County, Texas, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez that publicly launched the idea for the national conference.)

The paper's other charges against the conference range from, "No longer is the issue the undocumented worker," to, "the organizing effort has become an empty shell."

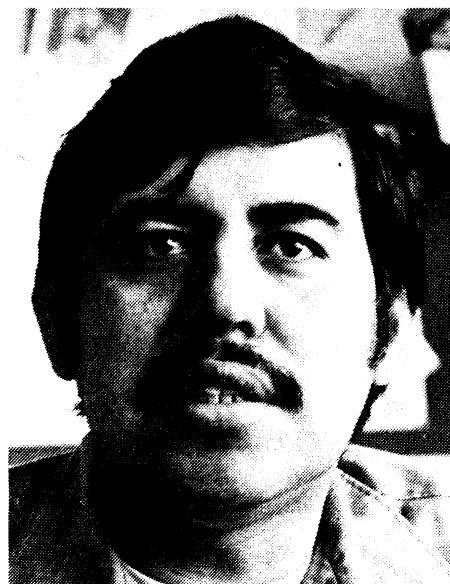
La Prensa charges that the socialists issued leaflets "carrying the names of individuals and organizations which were falsified" and tried to "subvert the local Chicano leadership of San Diego County by labeling them violent, reactionary, and revisionist."

These charges are extremely serious. Several have been repeated again and again since they were first leveled more than two months ago. Yet *La Prensa* has made no effort to substantiate any of them. Not a single scrap of evidence has been placed before the movement for its consideration.

Why no evidence?

The obvious question is: Why is no evidence presented? Could it be that there is no evidence?

This suspicion is reinforced by the way Baca organized the September 27 meeting. All SWP members were



HERMAN BACA: Makes many grave charges, but presents no evidence.

La Prensa San Diego
for our dignity & honor we raise our voice
Vol. 1 No. 32 San Diego, Ca Gratis September 29, 1977

CHICANOS EXPEL SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY!

SAN DIEGO. In a half-filled meeting room major Chicano leaders and community leader of the San Diego region, a major political declaration asserting the Chicano right to self-determination was overwhelmingly approved.

The call for the country-wide meeting was issued by Herman Baca, chairperson of the Committee on Chicano Rights and by the weekly *La Prensa*. It

arrive in a half-live and democratic manner, at a national platform incorporating the major issues of concern to the Latino population. It was also agreed

that the national meeting would select by democratic means representatives, who would then present the national demands to President Carter, and crucially, it was agreed that this could be a

movement the same destructive tactics used against us by our common enemy?

DR. CORNEJO TO REPLACE MONZON

Dr. Ricardo Cornejo, a

UCLA educator and researcher, has been appointed

director of San Diego State

Chicano groups carrying the

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Chicano leaders rebuff red-baiting drive

By Pedro Camejo

ALBUQUERQUE—Organizers of the national Chicano/Latino conference have overwhelmingly rebuffed an attempt to divide their movement.

Twenty-five representatives of local and state committees meeting here October 2 signed an open letter responding to red-baiting articles published by the weekly *La Prensa San Diego* (see below).



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ: 'We have to be firm in standing up against red-baiting.'

Zavala County, Texas, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez presented the letter to the meeting, which was chaired by New Mexico Raza Unida leader Juan José Peña.

The sentiment for nonexclusion wasn't unanimous, however. Two representatives of Los Angeles CASA supported the idea of excluding members of the Socialist Workers Party from the conference.

"It is not red baiting," insisted CASA's Antonio Rodríguez. Why? Because "some of those compaños in San Diego believe in communism themselves. . . . Herman Baca may be an anticommunist, if you want to call him that. . . ." Baca, a prominent figure in San Diego's Chicano movement, has led the red-baiting of the conference.

Esteban Flores of the Texas Format Committee in Austin was the only one to voice agreement with CASA. "The best goal would be to exclude the SWP," he said.

Almost all those taking the floor spoke in support of Gutiérrez's statement that "we have to be firm in standing up against red-baiting."

Gutiérrez explained, "Can you imagine if the *Washington Post*, or the *New York Times*, or the Denver or Albuquerque papers, or any newspaper controlled by the system uses the same language, quoting a Chicano organization, or fifty others from San Diego, saying this immigration movement is nothing but a communist front?"

"What is your battle going to be like,

and what is our struggle going to be like, if we suffer with that kind of label?"

Lucía Robledo of San Diego City College MEChA was shocked by the suggestion to exclude the socialists. "The socialists in San Diego have done more than anyone to build the conference. . . . We should welcome everyone who is willing to help support the conference."

Manuel Archuleta of the New Mexico Raza Unida Party also spoke in support of the Gutiérrez statement. "I think we should open this movement up to anyone who wants to build the movement," he said.

Urging all participants to sign the open letter, Gutiérrez said that "in this particular activity" the socialists "have done a tremendous job in promoting this conference."

"And I have yet to feel uncomfortable, or insecure, or threatened by the presence of the SWP. . . . or of LULAC [League of United Latin-American Citizens], MALDEF [Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund], or the clergy. . . . or the Communist Party, or the fact that you have Blacks coming to this conference, or that Eugene McCarthy wants to join in."

Gutiérrez concluded, "What we are trying to do is protect our community, and that transcends any obligations we have, or any other loyalty we may think important."

Ernesto Peña of the New Mexico GI Forum summarized the sentiment of most of those present when he urged



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

MANUEL ARCHULETA: 'We should open this movement up to anyone who wants to build this movement.'

everyone to "concentrate on the undocumented worker."

He ended by saying, "It's about time we wake up. There are some organizations that later, you will see them jumping on the bandwagon because they see what we are doing is really helping our people."

Letter to La Prensa: 'Our people need unity'

The following "Open Letter to La Prensa" was issued October 2. Signers listed at the end of the letter attended the Albuquerque, New Mexico, meeting reported in the article above.

We are writing to you regarding two recent editorials in your paper which we believe are damaging to the cause of la raza in general and to the efforts to stop Carter's drive against undocumented workers in particular.

We refer to the editorials which appeared in *La Prensa* July 22 and September 22 of 1977. Both contain unjustified, baseless attacks on our committees, and on the Chicano/Latino conference we will be holding in San Antonio October 28-30.

Your editorial of July 22 stated that initially you welcomed the Call to Action issued in May by Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutierrez, the call which led to the building of the October 28-30 conference. But, your editorial asserts, "Somewhere between May and July, the effort commenced in Texas became subverted to where it no longer appears to be in the best interest of la raza. It now appears that the Angel Gutierrez 'Call for Action' has been coopted by the socialist party. It serves the socialist agenda and not necessarily la raza's."

Your second editorial, of September 22 asserts: "The early flush of hope has now dimmed. . . . the process, it now appears, has been co-opted (taken over) by the cadres of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). No longer is the issue the undocumented workers; no longer is this to be a voice for la raza. . . . In fact the organizing effort has become an empty shell populated by innocents unaware of the real goal of the SWP."

These are very serious charges. Yet you do not offer even a single shred

of evidence to back them up; only unsubstantiated assertions. For instance, you simply assert that the conference has become "an empty shell." Don't you realize that the present and still growing support for this conference is perhaps the broadest of any Chicano conference so far?

We have succeeded in bringing together some 400 organizations and individuals throughout the nation. And the list is growing daily. Among those who have already endorsed and are actively involved are such well established organizations as Texas LULAC [League of United Latin American Citizens]; PADRES [a Catholic church-based group]; the Manzo Area Council of Tucson; the influential New York-based Committee for the Defense of Immigrants (CODI); the San Jose Confederacion de la Raza; and the Chicago Centro de Servicios Legales Para Inmigrantes.

Influential church figures concerned with the immigration issue have given their endorsement and, in several important cases, their active assistance. Among these are the Most Reverend Patricio Flores, Bishop of San Antonio, Father Joseph Lara of Denver, Father Lydio Tomasi of Migration Today in New York and Hermanas.

Two members of the San Antonio city council have endorsed, as have two city council members in Denver, along with two members of the Colorado legislature. Bernardo Estevez the mayor pro-tem in San Antonio will be officially welcoming the conference participants. Student, community, labor, Chicana, and even prisoner organizations have also joined in. Is this an "empty shell"?

You also state without any attempted proof that "No longer is the issue the undocumented workers." But every piece of our literature, every

one of our speakers and press conferences has focused on the issue of the undocumented workers. The agenda at the 12 preparatory state conferences and for the national conference will have the problem of the undocumented worker as the central agenda point.

Your editorial says that we are "innocents" who have been "coopted" by the "Socialist Workers Party." How do you explain this not very complimentary estimation of us? Is our innocence the innocence of stupidity? If an anglo paper made such a charge against us we would not be unjustified in interpreting it to mean: These Chicanos are so ignorant, they don't even know when they're being taken over and used. We assume this is not your view.

The fact is no one group dominates our coalition. Our numbers include Chicanos of virtually all political parties—Democrats, independents, Socialist Workers, Communists, CASA-HGT, and perhaps even a few Republicans. Our work has been endorsed and actively supported by La Raza Unida Parties of Texas, New Mexico, and California.

Are all these Chicanos, Mexicanos, and Latinos dupes and fools?

We would hope that your criticism is not based on the fact that our coalition practices a non-exclusionary policy of welcoming all concerned with Carter's crackdown on the undocumented—including socialists.

This is our hope because we remember, as we are sure you do, how damaging to our movement and people was the red-baiting of the McCarthy era. And we cannot help but be sensitive to the issue knowing how the FBI and its COINTELPRO operations have used red-baiting to divide and disrupt our movement. Surely your paper would not want to give comfort to such reactionary

forces.

It is, needless to say, very unpleasant for us to write such a letter to you. All our energies, and more, are needed to unite our people in opposition to the unjust Carter plan. And, we would respectfully submit, your editorial columns could be used to far better purpose by zeroing in on the Carter plan, not on those working to defend our people.

We hope you will publish this letter and that we can move toward the unity so badly needed by our people.

Arizona: Daniel Carrasco and Ellie García, Call for Action, Phoenix; Ralph Carreras, United Barrio Union, Phoenix; Robert Petillo, Glendale Community College MEChA; Alonso Moraso, Call for Action, Tucson.

California: Lucía Robledo and Raúl Torres, San Diego City College MEChA; Anthony González, Socialist Workers Party, San Diego; Chava Natividad, Call for Action, Los Angeles.

Colorado: Everett Chávez, Josefina Pérez, Juan Ríos, Benito Sandoval and Sylvia Zapata, Colorado Coalition on Immigration and Human Rights, Denver.

New Mexico: Juan José Peña and Manuel Archuleta, Conference Committee on Immigration and Social Impact; Ernesto Peña, American GI Forum, Albuquerque; Celia Anchondo, Centro del Centro, Las Cruces; Lourdes Arias and Romelia Ramírez, Call for Action, Las Cruces.

Texas: Miguel Pendás, office coordinator, International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, San Antonio; Pedro Camejo, Socialist Workers Party, San Antonio; José Angel Gutiérrez, Raza Unida Party, Crystal City; Juan Alvarez and Arturo Ramírez, Houston Social Action and Immigration Committee.

(Organizations listed for identification purposes.)

Calendar

BOSTON: ROXBURY

UNEMPLOYMENT: THE DILEMMA FACING BLACK YOUTH. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 288-0753.

CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE

FEMINISM & SOCIALISM: HOW CAN THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS SUCCEED? Speaker: Betsey Stone, former staff writer for the *Militant*, member of SWP National Committee. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

'LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA' A documentary film on apartheid in South Africa. Fri., Oct. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2251 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

CINCINNATI

CELEBRATION OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CLEVELAND

SPEAKOUT ON POLICE BRUTALITY IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

HOUSTON: NORTHEAST

WHAT'S BEHIND CARTER'S ATTACKS ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS? Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2835 Laura Koppe. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 697-5543.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

THE FBI VS. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. Speaker: Marty Pettit, SWP; others. Sun., Oct. 23, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

VIEWPOINT: THE SWP DISCUSSES THE

STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE. Speaker: Scott Cooper, SWP. Fri., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4515A Troost. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

KENT, OHIO

REFORM & REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Speaker: George Novack. Mon., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. The Kiva, Student Center. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (216) 678-2489.

LOS ANGELES

A BENEFIT CONCERT FOR SKYHORSE AND MOHAWK. Native American singers: Buffey Saint Marie and Floyd Westerman; comedian Clarke Hill; John Trudell, AIM; others. Thurs., Oct. 20, 7:30 p.m. Embassy Auditorium, 877 South Grand. Ausp: Skyhorse/Mohawk Offense/Defense Committee.

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN ISRAEL: AN ISRAELI JEW SPEAKS OUT FOR PALESTINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS. Speaker: Lea Tsemel, attorney for Arab hunger strikers in Ashkelon Prison in Israel. Tues., Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. Cal State Univ., Los Angeles, Student Union, Room 313. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. Sponsors: Mustafa Siam, chairman, United American-Arab Congress; Dr. James Zogby, director, Palestinian Human Rights Campaign; Mohammed Busailah, president, Association of Arab-American Graduate Students of LA; Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1341.

MINNEAPOLIS

FREEDOM AND NEW TRIALS FOR THE HILL BROTHERS. Speakers: Gloria Hill, sister of the Hill brothers; others. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

STOP THE ATTACKS ON ABORTION RIGHTS. Speakers: Sharon Grant, SWP; others. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

NEW YORK: QUEENS

QUEENS SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor; Jane Roland, SWP candidate for city council president; Helen Cairns, SWP; Pearl Clark, YSA. Fri., Oct. 21, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th st.,

Jamaica. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION TODAY. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, SWP National Committee. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call: (415) 261-1210.

WHAT IS THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY?

Speaker: Art Sharon, Veteran socialist educator and trade-union organizer. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

PITTSBURGH

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY.

Speakers: Howard Beck, SWP mayoral candidate; Tania Shai, SWP candidate for city council. Sun., Oct. 16, 6 p.m. cocktail hour; 7 p.m. program. Webster Hall Hotel, 4415 Fifth Ave., Oakland. Ausp: Pittsburgh Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

ST. LOUIS: WEST END

OUR BODIES, OUR LIVES, OUR RIGHT TO DECIDE. Speakout against forced sterilization and attacks on abortion rights. A panel discussion. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

ST. PAUL

CHINA: AN ANALYSIS OF EVENTS SINCE THE TIEN AN MEN DEMONSTRATION AND THE DEATH OF MAO TSETUNG.

Speaker: Gary Prevost, SWP; others. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. Macalester College, Olin 200. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SAN ANTONIO

WHAT IS THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY?

Speaker: Harry Ring, southwest bureau of the *Militant*. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

SAN JOSE

STOP THE DEPORTATIONS—A SPEAKOUT AGAINST CARTER'S ATTACKS ON UN-

DOCUMENTED WORKERS. Speakers: Frobén Lozada, Raza Contra la Migra; others. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MOTHERHOOD BY CHOICE. Speakers: Kay Harrington, assistant to the director of NARAL; Vita Ellis, coordinator of Family Planning, D.C. General Hospital; Dr. Marc Jerome, Preterm Center for Reproductive Health; Karen Reff, SWP. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 2416 18th st. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

'Bakke' forums

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

HOW TO OVERTURN THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Speakers: representatives of BALSA, National Lawyers Guild, SCAR. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST

THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Speakers: Terry Black, Black American Law Students Association; Linda Ferguson, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Raul González, SCAR. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn, Huntington Park. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

DEFENDING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

SEATTLE

THE 'BAKKE' CASE: THREAT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. A panel discussion including representatives from the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

...Figueroa

Continued from back page

1950s for armed actions carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence.

On October 9 Cordero returned to his home town of Aguada. Despite a steady drizzle, thousands of people packed the streets to welcome him.

At the rally, Cordero initiated a petition drive demanding that Carter immediately release the remaining Nationalist prisoners.

After twenty-three years in U.S. prisons, Andrés Figueroa Cordero is free at last. But he will have only a few weeks to enjoy the homeland he dedicated his life to liberating. Doctors say he has less than two months to live.

President Carter ordered the release October 6 after a cancer expert, armed with a court order, examined Figueroa Cordero at the Springfield, Missouri, prison hospital. The doctor planned to testify on the medical treatment provided the prisoner and on his health in a suit for Figueroa Cordero's release.

It has been known for several years that Figueroa Cordero has terminal cancer. Carter waited until the prisoner was *liquidado*—finished, to use Figueroa Cordero's word—before releasing him.

The fifty-two-year-old Nationalist is dying today instead of ten or twenty years from now because prison authorities turned a deaf ear to pleas for adequate medical treatment from a man totally at their mercy. He was treated for hemorrhoids while a rectal cancer grew and spread throughout his

body. When the government finally sent him to a hospital, it was too late.

And yet the White House said Carter released the prisoner on "humanitarian grounds."

...'Bakke'

Continued from page 5

val, and Dr. Helen Rodríguez, an activist in the fight against forced sterilization.

Three hundred students rallied against *Bakke* October 7 in Boulder, Colorado, at the University of Colorado. The demonstration also protested a proposal by the student government that would effectively deny funding to many student organizations, especially those representing oppressed nationalities.

Seventy-five people, most of them Chicanos, picketed the post office in San Antonio October 8. Speaking at a rally after the picket line were city council members Rudy Ortiz and Joe Alderete; Armando Gutiérrez, a leader of the Raza Unida Party; and Gloria Najar, of the Coalition to Defeat the *Bakke* Decision.

Seventy people attended a teach-in on affirmative action and special admissions at the University of Massachusetts at Boston October 7. The action was sponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

Speakers included Charles Ogletree, national chairperson of the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA).

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...red-bait

Continued from page 24

Baca's disclaimer aside, the conference has been his real target all along. But it's easier to attack the effort indirectly by making false charges about the SWP's participation.

La Prensa's original editorial attack on the conference, for example, did not even mention the Socialist Workers Party.

Instead, the editorial denounced movements "based . . . on bankrupt foreign ideologies," adding that the conference "serves the socialist agenda." Ironically, in all the huffing and puffing about "foreign" ideas, *La Prensa* forgot to mention the theme of the conference: defense of "foreign" workers.

And just days before the September 27 meeting, Baca supporter César González distributed a flyer urging people to attend the meeting that said the "major concern of the evening will be the committee's non-endorsement of a national meeting called by Judge Angel Gutiérrez of San Antonio, Texas, dealing with problems of immigrants."

The charges against the SWP are a smoke screen. The grouping Baca leads is simply flat-out opposed to the conference. But instead of presenting his differences with the conference openly, Baca has sunk to red-baiting and slander—not only of the SWP, but of all conference supporters.

Baca and his supporters should reconsider their course. Instead of attacking the conference, they should

more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state.) None.

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(signed)
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Business Manager

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Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Gramma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

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San Francisco: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 626-6288.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St., San Francisco, Calif. 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814.

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Chicago, West Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 5967

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INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270.

Louisville: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 1505 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40203. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

Prince Georges County: SWP, 4318 Hamilton St., Rm. 10, Hyattsville, Md. 20781. Tel: (301) 864-4867.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton, Mass. 01027.

Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

Fenway-South End: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

Roxbury: SWP, 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester, Mass. 02121, tel: (617) 288-0753.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109. Tel: (313) 663-8306.

Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160.

Detroit, West Side: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 18415 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436.

Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Grand Rapids: YSA, P.O. Box 6301, Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 23 E. Lake St., Mpls., Minn. 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663.

St. Paul: SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost, Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar, St.

Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1571.

Northside St. Louis: 4875 Natural Bridge Rd., St. Louis, Mo. 63115. Tel: (314) 381-0044.

Westend St. Louis: 6223 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 11-A Central Ave., Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 482-3367.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 4088, Albuquerque, N.M. 87106. Tel: (505) 256-1796.

NEW YORK: Albany: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 103 Central Avenue, Albany, New York 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853.

New York, Bronx: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 2271 Morris Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250.

New York, Chelsea: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 200½ W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 7 Clinton St., New York, N.Y. 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Queens: SWP YSA, Militant Bookstore, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 786 Amsterdam, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station, Raleigh, N.C. 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497.

Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan, Cincinnati, Ohio 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union (Rm. 308), Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985.

Kent: YSA, Student Center, Box 41, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44242. Tel: (216) 678-2489.

Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd., Toledo, Ohio 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3928 N. Williams, Portland, Ore. 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, Militant

Bookstore, 5950 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) 514-2874.

Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Crowds in Puerto Rico hail Figueroa Cordero

After decades in U.S. prisons, a dying Nationalist goes home

By José G. Pérez

"Don't cry. If one is dying for his country there is no need to cry."

These were Andrés Figueroa Cordero's first words to his brother as the ailing member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was carried from a plane at the San Juan airport October 7. Andrés's brother had broken out in

An editorial on this subject appears on page 10.

tears when he saw the pallid, frail figure of Andrés in a wheelchair, a Puerto Rican flag draped across his shoulders.

Outside, thousands of people greeted the Nationalist with shouts of, "Libertad! Libertad! Libertad!"

Freedom!—to hail Figueroa Cordero's release.

Freedom!—to demand that President Carter release the other four National

ists imprisoned with Figueroa Cordero.

Freedom!—to tell the United States to get out of their country so that Puerto Ricans can run their own affairs.

The night before, Cordero was also given a hero's welcome at a rally of 350 in Chicago.

There Nelson Canals, head of Puerto Rico's National Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners, read a message Figueroa Cordero had written but was too weak to read.

"My release is a victory for the Puerto Rican and North American people, which should be dedicated to work for the release of other political prisoners, especially the other four Nationalist political prisoners, Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda," Figueroa Cordero said.

The five were imprisoned in the early

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Andrés Figueroa Cordero defiantly displays his country's flag at airport

Attend the Chicano/Latino conference

San Antonio, Oct. 28-30

By Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO—The national Chicano/Latino immigration conference to be held here October 28-30 will open with a public rally Friday night.

Some of the slated speakers at the rally include Rev. José Alvarez of the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Immigrants; Vilma Martínez, national director of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund; Rubén Bonilla, Texas director of the League of United Latin American Citizens; Pedro Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party; Margie Cowan of the Tucson

Manzo Area Council; Antonio Rodríguez of CASA; Jean Bart of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami; Juan Gómez-Quiñones, Chicano Studies director at UCLA; and Sister Mario Barron of Las Hermanas.

Also scheduled is Ali Shokri, a refugee from the Iranian army seeking asylum here.

Hugo Blanco, the well-known Peruvian peasant leader, will speak at the conference as well.

The rally will open with welcoming remarks by Bernardo Eureste, acting mayor of San Antonio and an endorser of the conference.

A Saturday morning plenary session will hear Dr. Jorge Bustamante, Mexico's leading authority on immigration.

An invitation had been sent to President Carter to present his views to the conference, and a slot has been left open for a representative of the administration.

The keynote address will then be delivered by Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party, whose "Call for Action" last spring led to the calling of the conference.

On Saturday there will be two sets of workshops. One set will focus on analyzing the Carter plan and what's wrong with it.

A second set of workshops will deal with a variety of movement concerns, including such issues as the *Bakke* affirmative action decision and support to farm workers.

On Sunday a plenary session will

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Blanco will be there

By José G. Pérez

Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco will be among the speakers at the national Chicano/Latino conference.

After a two-year fight, Blanco recently won a U.S. visa to conduct a speaking tour for his publisher, Pathfinder Press, and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Blanco speaks with first-hand knowledge of the poverty and repression that forces millions of Latin Americans to emigrate to the United States.

In the early 1960s Blanco was a leader of a land-reform movement among Quechua-speaking Indian farmers in Peru. For his political activities Blanco was charged with murder, and authorities sought the death sentence. It took an international protest campaign to save his life and finally win him amnesty in 1970.

Only a few months after his release, Blanco was deported from Peru and then hounded out of one Latin American country after another because of his renown as an uncompromising opponent of capitalist exploitation and oppression. He was living in Chile at the time of the 1973 rightist coup and narrowly escaped death by seeking asylum at the Swedish embassy. He was allowed to return to Peru in 1975, only

to be deported again a few months later.

He now lives in exile in Sweden.

The following is Blanco's tour schedule in the days before the San Antonio conference:

October 18 Champaign, Ill.
October 19 New Orleans
October 20-21 Milwaukee
October 24 St. Louis
October 25 Kansas City, Mo.

More information on Blanco's tour can be gotten from: USLA, 853 Broadway Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.



HUGO BLANCO

Militant/Ben Atwood

What, when, and where

The National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy will discuss how to fight racist deportations and what to do about President Carter's "amnesty" proposal, which would deprive millions of Latinos of elementary human and civil rights.

The conference will be held at San Antonio's Tropicana Hotel October 28-30.

For more information write or call: International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78807. Telephone (512) 227-1220.